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TACITUS.

GERMANIA, AGRICOLA, AND FIRST BOOK OF THE ANNALS.

Annals Book 1.

WITH NOTES FROM RUPERTI, PASSOW, WALCH,

AND

BÖTTICHER'S REMARKS ON THE STYLE OF TACITUS.



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1840.

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PREFACE.

THE following edition of the Germania, Agricola, and First Book of the Annals of Tacitus, has been undertaken with the view of supplying a deficiency which has been experienced by many teachers. The Germania and Agricola are the only parts of Tacitus which have been hitherto published with explanations in English for the use of schools: and it has been justly considered that the First Book of the Annals, on account of the interesting and important information which it contains, deserves to be more generally read than it is at present, in the higher classes of our schools.

In editing the following pages, my object has been to present the reader with an accurate text, and to afford, in the shape of notes, such information as is necessary to enable the diligent student to read the original with profit. An explanation of difficult passages is usually given; but I have purposely abstained from giving translations of those passages, which a little thought on the part of the reader will easily enable him to understand. The notes are principally, but not entirely, selected from the commentaries of Ruperti, Passow, and

42965

Walch, whose writings are sufficiently known to scholars to give a guarantee for their value and importance. The notes of Walch on the Agricola, which consist in the original of more than three hundred closely printed octavo pages, form undoubtedly one of the most valuable commentaries ever published upon any classical author.

The "Remarks on the Style of Tacitus" have been translated from a work of Bötticher, "De vita, scriptis ac stilo Taciti," Berlin, 1834; which is well known to be a very excellent introduction to the study of the style and writings of Tacitus.

I have, in conclusion, to acknowledge my obligations to my brother, Mr. Philip Smith, and to Mr. Charles P. Mason, Scholar of University College,—the former of whom translated, at my request, the Remarks on the Style of Tacitus, and the latter the Notes of Ruperti, Passow, and Walch.

WILLIAM SMITH.

London, March 26th, 1840.

CONTENTS.

ERRATA.

Page 26, line 30, for *aprendi* read *parendi.*
102, line 1, for *consultibus,* read *consulibus.*
249, line 4, for *Postumum* read *Postumus.*

TABLE

OF THE LIFE AND TIMES OF TACITUS.

A.D.	A.U.C.	Age of Tacitus.	
53	806	—	CAIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS was probably born in this year, at Interamnae in Umbria, called at the present day *Terni*.
54	807	2	Claudius dies on the 13th of October, and is succeeded by Nero.
58	811	6	Quintus Veranius succeeds Aulus Didius in the command of Britain, and dies in the same year.
59	812	7	Quintus Veranius is succeeded in the command of Britain by Suetonius Paulinus, fifth Consular Legatus, who is accompanied most probably by Agricola as military tribune.
60	813	8	[Agricola was at that time twenty-two or twenty-three years of age. He was born on the 13th of June, A. D. 37, at Forum Julii (*Frejus*) in Gaul.]
61	814	9	Expedition of Paulinus to Mona. General insurrection of the Britons under Boadicea.
62	815	10	Suetonius Paulinus is succeeded by Petronius Turpilianus, sixth consular legatus. Agricola (aged twenty-five) returns to Rome, marries Domitia Decidiana, and is a candidate for the quaestorship.
63	816	11	Agricola (aged twenty-six) quaestor in Asia. His eldest son dies after the birth of a daughter. Nero marries Poppaea.
64	817	12	Petronius Turpilianus is succeeded by Trebellius Maximus, seventh consular legatus. Britain, as far as Anglesea, mostly under the Roman dominion. Agricola returns to Rome, and spends the rest of the year in quiet.

A.D.	A.U.C.	Age of Tacitus.	
65	818	13	Agricola (aged twenty-eight) tribune of the plebs. Piso's conspiracy against Nero. Seneca and Lucan put to death. Great fire at Rome. Persecution of the Christians.
66	819	14	Agricola (aged twenty-nine) is a candidate for the praetorship. Tacitus receives instruction from some of the most celebrated rhetoricians of his time ; among others, from Marcus Aprus, Julius Secundus, and Quintilian. Death of Paetus Thrasea.
67	820	15	Agricola (aged thirty) is praetor.
68	821	16	Nero put to death on the 9th of June. He is succeeded by Galba, who entrusts to Agricola (aged thirty-one) the investigation respecting the treasures of the temples.
69	822	17	Galba is put to death on the 15th of January, and is succeeded by Otho. Otho's partizans, at the plunder of Intemelium, kill Agricola's mother, in the beginning of April. Otho dies on the 16th of April, and is succeeded by Vitellius. Vespasian is proclaimed emperor in Egypt and Judaea. Agricola (aged thirty-two) joins Vespasian's party. Vitellius dies on the 21st of December. Mutiny of the soldiers in Britain against Trebellius Maximus, who is succeeded in the command by Vettius Bolanus, eighth consular legatus.
70	823	18	Agricola (aged thirty-three) is entrusted with the command of the twentieth legion in Britain. Jerusalem taken by Titus.
71	824	19	Vettius Bolanus is succeeded by Petilius Cerealis, the ninth consular legatus. Tacitus begins to speak in public.
73	826	21	Agricola (aged thirty-six) returns to Rome, and becomes a patrician.
74	827	22	Agricola (aged thirty-seven) commences his government of the province of Aquitania.
75	828	23	Cerealis succeeded by Julius Frontinus, the tenth consular legatus.
76	829	24	Frontinus subdues the Silures. Agricola (aged thirty-nine) recalled from Aquitania.
77	830	25	Agricola (aged forty) consul *suffectus* in July, August, and September. He betroths his daughter, who was at that time scarcely fourteen, to Tacitus, and gives her to him in marriage after his consulship.

A.D.	A.U.C.	Age of Tacitus.	
78	831	26	Agricola (aged forty-one) succeeds Frontinus in the command of Britain. He conquers the Ordovices and subdues the island of Mona. Tacitus is appointed vigintivir and quaestor.
79	832	27	Vespasian dies on the 23rd of June, and is succeeded by Titus. Agricola (aged forty-two) advances as far as the Solway Frith, and subdues almost the whole of England. Introduces civilisation among the Britons.
80	833	28	Tacitus either aedile or tribune of the plebs. Agricola (aged forty-three) subdues the southern nations of Scotland as far as the Frith of Tay.
81	834	29	Titus dies on the 15th of September, and is succeeded by Domitian.
84	837	32	Agricola (aged forty-seven) defeats the Caledonians under Calgacus at the Grampian hills. The Roman fleet sails round the north and west coasts of Britain. Expedition of Domitian against the Catti.
85	838	33	Agricola (aged forty-eight) is recalled from Britain, and is succeeded by Sallustius Lucullus.
86	839	34	Appius Sabinus and the Roman army are defeated by the Dacians under Decebalus.
87	840	35	Several Roman armies are defeated in Moesia, Dacia, Germany, and Pannonia. The public voice calls for Agricola as general. Domitian sets out for Dacia, and remains in Moesia.
88	841	36	Tacitus praetor. The *Ludi Saeculares* are performed.
89	842	37	Unsuccessful expedition of Domitian against the Marcomanni and Quadi. Civica put to death. The philosophers are banished from Rome by Domitian.
90	843	38	Agricola (aged fifty-three) declines the province of Asia. Tacitus retires with his wife from Rome.
91	844	39	Triumph of Domitian.
93	846	41	Death of Agricola on the 23rd of August. Tacitus returns to Rome. Helvidius the younger, Arulenus Rusticus, and Herennius Senecio condemned to death.
94	847	42	Second banishment of the philosophers from Rome.

A.D.	A.U.C.	Age of Tacitus.	
96	849	44	Domitian is put to death on the 18th of September, and is succeeded by Nerva.
97	850	45	Tacitus consul. He writes and publishes his Agricola in this year. Nerva adopts Trajan on the 19th of September.
98	851	46	Nerva dies on the 27th of January, and is succeeded by Trajan.
100	853	48	Tacitus, in conjunction with Pliny, accuses Marius Priscus, proconsul of Africa, of extortion in the administration of this province.
101 to 105	854 to 858	49 to 53	Trajan makes war against the Dacians and defeats them, and eventually reduces Dacia into the form of a Roman province.
			Tacitus appears to have lived till the time of Hadrian, who succeeded Trajan A.D. 117; but he took no part in public affairs after his consulship.

REMARKS

ON THE

STYLE OF TACITUS.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

REMARKS

ON THE

STYLE OF TACITUS.

TRANSLATED

FROM THE LATIN OF WILHELM BOETTICHER.

TACITUS generally preserved in his language the usage of former writers, and chiefly of the historians; and only departed from it in such a degree as to improve and increase certain peculiarities which the ancient writers sometimes display in single instances, and in which they too have mostly followed the language of the poets. It is true, he adopted the usage of his age, and indulged his own peculiar genius in new constructions, and in the formation of compound words; but he never in these instances transgressed the laws of his native tongue: like a great legislator, who best provides for the common welfare by retaining on the one hand the customs of antiquity, while he also employs his own genius in inventing laws which are better and more suited to the demands of his age.

There are, indeed, many passages in his writings, which are rendered obscure by a conciseness almost intricate and abrupt;—many which, departing from the common mode of speech, call for much attention in the

reader. But just as the milk-like exuberance of Livy and the wonderful clearness of Cicero delight the minds of their readers, and gratify them with a pleasure which is presented, as it were, spontaneously and obtained by no great labour; so the brevity of Tacitus, obscure indeed, but never unpleasing, never impenetrable to the edge of genius,—whilst it calls forth all the reader's strength, and never suffers his mind to be inactive, but always engages him more and more in new efforts to imbibe deeply the loftiest and most beautiful sentiments,—fills and pervades with a joy assuredly not inferior, nay imperishable, the minds of those who come to the perusal of the works of Tacitus, not as to thickets bristling with thorns, but as to a consecrated grove, glimmering with a doubtful but holy light.

Now the laws which Tacitus has followed in the composition of his writings, and the sources from which chiefly all those things proceed which constitute the peculiarity of his style, may be most conveniently referred to *variety*, which we may also call *copiousness*,—to *brevity*, on which the *force of language* depends,—and to the *poetical complexion of his narrative*.* This threefold division, therefore, we shall carry out in such a manner as, by observing some certain order, to enumerate all the peculiarities of the style of Tacitus, either as examples of the variety, or of the brevity, or of the poetical complexion, by which his style is marked; but with this restriction, that many peculiarities cannot be described in words and brought under rules, and we

* But it must be observed that, in many passages, all these qualities are united; so that in his very brevity there appears at the same time variety and a poetical complexion.

think it sufficient to have collected here examples of each kind, and thus to have pointed out to the students of Tacitus the road by which they may arrive at a fuller knowledge of that writer.

ON THE VARIETY OF THE STYLE OF TACITUS.

Of all writers Tacitus has taken most pains to vary both single words and the composition of sentences. In this quality he was preceded chiefly by Livy and Sallust. And the care of Livy in this respect indicates copiousness and exuberance; but that of Sallust an affectation of antiquity. The reason of this peculiarity Tacitus himself plainly enough declares. For he says that "his labour was in a restricted space and inglorious;"—that "the positions of nations, the *vicissitudes* of battles, the triumphant deaths of generals, interest and refresh the minds of readers; but he had to *string together* cruel mandates, *perpetual* accusations, treacherous friendships, the ruin of innocent men, and causes which had the *same* issue, things strikingly *similar even to satiety*."*

It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that in collect-

* Annals iv. 32, 33.—"Nobis in arto et inglorius labor."—"Situs gentium, *varietates* proeliorum, clari ducum exitus retinent ac redintegrant legentium animum: nos saeva jussa, *continuas* accusationes, fallaces amicitias, perniciem innocentium, et *easdem exitu* causas conjungimus, obvia *rerum similitudine et satietate*."

ing the memorials of past events, he should have taken pains to acquire that variety which presented itself spontaneously to the writers of the old republic, in order to avoid burthening and wearying the minds of his readers by expressing in the same words events perpetually recurring. As to the fact that for this very end he used certain ancient forms and words, and interspersed them in his narrative, we know that though he retained as much of all ancient things as was proper and becoming, yet he did not despise the more polished style of his own age.*

The following are examples of his variety.

I. His modes of writing words are various.

a. *Inrumpere* and *irrumpere, adstitit* and *astitit, adlicere* and *allicere, adpellere* and *appellere; colloqui, colligere,* and *conloqui, conlectus; offundere* and *obfundere; accelerare, accolere, accursus,* and *adcelerare, adcolere, adcursus.*

b. *Cotidie* and *quotidie; promiscus, promisce* and *promiscuus, promiscue; abisse* and *abiisse, epistula* and *epistola; volgus, volnus, voltus, convolsus, revolsus, mavoltis,* and *vulgus, vulnus,* &c.; and also in some places *saevom, pravom, alvom, captivom, donativom avonculo,* for the common *saevum, pravum,* &c.; *tegumen, tegimen* and *tegmen; balneae, (balnea)* and *balineae; claudere* and *cludere; inclutus* and *inclitus; quotiens, totiens, viciens, septuagiens,* and *quoties, toties,* &c.; *transmittere, transnatare,* and *tramittere, tranatare; vinculum* and *vinclum;*

* See the Dialogus de Oratoribus, c. 22.—"Variet compositionem; nec omnes clausulas uno et eodem modo determinet." And c. 18.—"Non esse unum eloquentiae vultum," &c.

Hercule and *Hercle; libido* and once *lubido; altissumus, optumus, optumates, proxumus* (these examples are found each only once in Tacitus), and *altissimus*, &c.; *monimentum* and *monumentum; decumus* and *decimus*, &c.; *urgere* and *urguere, intellegere* and *intelligere, oreretur* and *oriretur, poteretur* and *potiretur, detractare* and *detrectare.*

§ II. Words are variously inflected.

a. *Tigranen, Tigranem, Lirin, Turesim;* the accusative plural ending in *īs* of participles and adjectives chiefly, less frequently of substantives, is interchanged with the common form, as *imminentis, omnis, tris, navis;* —the genitive which ends in *um* with the common termination in *orum; deum* (very rarely *deorum*), *liberum, posterum* (Annal. iii. 72), *quindecimvirum* (Annal. vi. 12); —*parentum* and *parentium.* By a poetical usage received from the writers of the Silver Age, we read in Annal. iv. 41 *salutantum* for *salutantium*, and several examples of the same kind occur repeatedly. *Cai, Cnei, Caeselli, Patulei, Rubelli, Pacari,* but *Tiberii, Pompeii,* &c.; *di, dis, dii, diis* and *deis; quibus*, and not less frequently *quîs.*—The dative ending in *u* is very frequent in Tacitus, as well as the common termination, as *luxu, nuru, metu, decursu, cruciatu.* Caesar, who uses that form more frequently, generally gives nothing else but *magistratu, equitatu, exercitu.*

b. Heteroclite and defective words: *plebes, plebei* (gen. and dat.), and *plebs, plebis, plebi* (so in Cicero, Livy, and other former writers); *juventa, senecta (senium)*, poetical words, and *juventus, senectus* (after Livy's example); but *juventus* in Tacitus always means *youths, juventa* no less constantly *the age of youth;*

nouns are both of the first and fifth declension in the nominative (as is usual), in the accusative, and in the ablative cases: *materia* and *materies, mollitia* and *mollities, duritia* and *durities* (so also in Cicero), with an obsolete genitive, Annal. iii. 34, *multa duritie veterum in melius et laetius mutata,* unless it is better to take *duritie* for the ablative, with *ex* understood.— *Oblivio* and (Hist. iv. 9) *oblivium* (the plural *oblivia* occurs frequently in the poets), *obsidio* and *obsidium* (so Varro, Plautus, Sallust), which in Tacitus indeed is the same as *obses,* Annal. xi. 10, *Meherdaten — obsidio nobis datum.* So he uses *consortium* for the common *consortio* (as Liv. iv. 5); *alimonium,* Annal. xi. 16, after Varro's example, but Plautus, Suetonius, Gellius, Apuleius, use *alimonia, ae.*—*Eventus* and (what is not an uncommon word with Cicero) *eventum,* Annal. iv. 33, *plures aliorum eventis docentur; praetextu* and (Hist. ii. 100; iii. 80; as in Seneca and Suetonius) *praetexto;*—*Vologeses,* genitive *Vologesis* and *Vologesi,* dative *Vologeso,* accusative *Vologesen,* ablative *Vologese.*— Add to these *decus* and *decor* (as in the writers of the same age), *sonos* and (the poetical form) *sonor, honos* and *honor; satietas* and (Sallust) *satias; sexus* and (Sallust, Livy) *secus; munera* and *munia* (and this frequently); *muri* and *moenia* (compare Hist. iii. 30, near the end); *gratia* and *grates; exanimus, exanimis; semermus, semermis; inermus, inermis; claritudo, claritas; firmitudo, firmitas.*

c. Heterogeneous words: *loci* and *loca,* where they refer to a country, are used indifferently by Tacitus; other writers less frequently use *loci.* In Annal. xv. 32, *loci* are the seats in a theatre; on the other hand, Livy and Vellius call them *loca.* Arguments, which are

treated of in a debate or speech, and also passages or sentences of speeches or books are called by all writers, and Tacitus likewise, *loci*. Some names of cities ending in *a* are both feminine and neuter; *Artaxata, Hierosolyma,* and others.

III. The following examples will prove how great is the variety and copiousness of Tacitus IN THE ACTUAL USE OF WORDS.

a. The word *auris* is used by no writer so often and so variously; for he gives *aures praebere, adire, perstringere, advertere, imbuere, vitare, polluere, obstruere, verberare, offendere;—ad aures conferre, pervenire; auribus obtemperare, auribus non satis competere, aures respuunt, agnoscunt aliquid;—diversitas, fastidium aurium; oratio auribus judicum accommodata; diversissimarum aurium copia; — cognitae populi aures; aures adrectiores, trepidae, lentae, promptae, pronae, superbae, aequae, apertae, ita formatae.*—Two reasons may be given why Tacitus so often used this word: first, because he was an orator, on which account most examples of it are furnished by his Dialogue concerning Orators; and therefore Cicero also and Quintilian often use this word: secondly, because in describing times which, to use his own words, had destroyed by prosecutions the intercourse of speaking and hearing, and recalled the recollection of the well-known ear * of the tyrant Dionysius, he was able, by the use of this mode of speech, to express with the greatest propriety and effect

* A combination of passages, by which Dionysius is said to have been able to overhear the words of his captives as he sat in his palace.

many things which belonged to the wicked arts of tyranny and slavery.

b. There is generally a variety of the same kind in describing hidden and secret things. Thus to *palam* are opposed *secreto, intus, domi, per occultum, per occulta, in occulto, privatim, furtim, secretis criminationibus, occultis nuntiis, inter secreta convivii, voto:* — Annal. xvi. 7, *mortem Poppaeae ut palam tristem, ita recordantibus laetam;* Hist. i. 10, *palam laudares; secreta male audiebant;* — *propalam* — *secretis nuntiis, secretis promissis.*

c. Since Tacitus had to mention frequent deaths, he has in these cases also used very great variety: *relinquendae vitae certus; finis sponte sumptus, quaesita mors;* — *suo ictu mortem invenire, finem vitae sibi ponere, sumere exitium, voluntario exitu cadere, sua manu cadere, mortem sponte sumere, se vita privare, se ipsum interficere* (and *interfectus* also is used in a rather unusual way of voluntary death in Annal. i. 2, *interfecto Antonio:* compare Hist. i. 53, *occiso Nerone*), *voluntate exstingui, vim vitae suae adferre, vitam abstinentia finire, egestate cibi perimi, venenum haurire, gladio incumbere, senili manu ferrum tentare;* — *venas, brachia exsolvere, resolvere, abrumpere, interscindere, abscindere, interrumpere, incidere, aperire rursum; levem ictum venis inferre;* — *defungi, exstingui, obire, concedere, oppetere, finire, fato fungi, fato obire, fato concedere, morte fato propera auferri, mortem obire, mortalitatem explere, finem vitae implere, supremum diem explere, concedere vita, cedere vita, vitam finire;* — *mors (mortes), obitus, excessus, finis;* Dial. 18, *fatalis et meus dies.*

d. *Propinqua vespera, flexo in vesperam die, vespera-*

scente die, inumbrante vespera, praecipiti in occasum die, extremo die, sero diei, obscuro diei.

e. Those phrases also are changed, which it is the usual custom not to alter; as *aqua et igni interdicere* (Annal. iii. 38. iv. 21), *aqua et igni arceri* (Annal. iii. 50), *aqua atque igni prohiberi* (Annal. xvi. 12).

f. Particles are varied more frequently than in other writers: *haud* and *non, haudquaquam, nequaquam; dein, deinde; exin, exinde; proin, proinde; modo—modo* and *interim—quandoque, modo—nunc, modo—ecce nunc; erga* and with the same signification *contra, adversus, in; penes* and *ad, in, apud; juxta* and *ad, apud.*—They serve for a transition: *his atque (ac, et) talibus, his et pluribus, ceterum, dehinc, hinc, ad hoc, ad haec* (besides) *ac, et, inter quae, interea, per idem tempus, sub idem tempus, interim, simul, proinde, exinde, deinde, igitur* (seldom *itaque) ergo, at, at Hercule (Hercle).*

IV. Tacitus is also remarkable for great copiousness and variety of words; because, besides the words received in common use, he likewise frequently uses such as are found only in single passages in the writers of the former age; because too he adopted those words with which the poets of every age, and the writers of his own time, enriched the Latin tongue; and lastly, because he himself discovered and composed many new words; as *centurionatus, exstimulator, instigatrix, inturbidus, quinquiplicare, praeposse, provivere, pervigere, superstagnare, superurgere.* And he followed the same plan IN THE MEANINGS OF WORDS, not only combining the different senses which they had at different times, but also referring them according to his own taste to other

things, which bore some degree of affinity to the things which other writers had used those words to express. Of this I will give the following examples :—

a. As in Cicero we read *adducere habenas*, in Seneca *adducere vultum ad tristitiam*, in Quintilian *adducta frons;* so in Tacitus, with a slight change in the meaning of the word, Annal. xii. 7, *adductum* (i. e. *severum, rigidum*) *et quasi virile servitium;* xiv. 4, *familiaritate juvenili—et rursus adductus:* and Tacitus alone appears thus to have used the adverb, *adductius (regnari, imperitare)*, in Germ. 34, and Hist. iii. 7.

b. *Expedire*, 1) As in its common use, is the same as *praeparare, parare*, as *arma, alimenta, iter, concilium;* Annal. xiv. 55, *qui me non tantum praevisa, sed subita expedire docuisti*, concerning facility of speech. 2) Then in the same sense as *exponere:* examples of this meaning are furnished by Terence, Virgil, and other poets; Annal. iv. 1, *nunc originem, mores — expediam*, and so frequently. 3) Tacitus alone appears to have used it absolutely, for *expeditionem suscipere;* Hist. i. 10, *nimiae voluptates cum vacaret; quotiens expedierat magnae virtutes;* chap. 88, *multos—secum expedire jubet;* but exactly in the same way, *ducere* is used for *ducere exercitum*, not only by Tacitus, but much oftener by Livy.

c. *Externus*, besides its common use, in which it simply applies to foreign nations, as Annal. xi. 16, *ire externum ad imperium*, is also in Tacitus synonymous with *hostilis;* Hist. iv. 32, *ut absisteret bello, neve externa armis falsis velaret;* iii. 5, *ne inter discordias* (Romanorum) *externa molirentur*. In the same manner *diversus* is used by Tacitus of things relating to enemies and op-

posing parties, as, Annal. xiv. 30, *stabat pro litore diversa* (the hostile) *acies;* Hist. iii. 5, *ne majore ex diverso mercede* (received from their adversaries) *jus fasque exuerent;* and *diversus* is generally synonymous with *alienus, abhorrens ab aliqua re:* Annal. ii. 2, *diversus a majorum institutis;* vi. 33, *diversa induere* (espouse different sides); but thus Livy also speaks of *diversi auctores.*

V. In the grammatical construction of words the very great variety of the style of Tacitus is discovered.

a. The singular and plural numbers are interchanged: *miles, eques* (used also of those who are of equestrian rank), *veteranus, legionarius* and *milites, equites,* &c., and more often indeed than in former writers: Annal. vi. 35, *cum Parthus — distraheret turmas, Sarmatae— contis gladiisque ruerent;* Hist. iii. 59, *Samnis Pelignusque et Marsi.* The plural, used for the sake of majesty, is often joined with the singular: Annal. iv. 11, *ut peterem ab iis, quorum in manus cura* nostra *venerit* &c., Agr. 43, *nobis nihil comperti adfirmare ausim.*

b. Different cases are joined together: Annal. xii. 29, *legionem — pro ripa componeret, subsidio victis et terrorem adversus victores;* Hist. i. 53, *corpore ingens, animi immodicus;* Annal. xv. 59, *nomen mulieris Arria Galla, priori marito Domitius Silus:* and the same cases with different significations: Germ. 35, *occidere solent, non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira;* Hist. ii. 22, *molares ingenti pondere ac fragore provolvunt;* Agr. 6, *ludos et inania honoris moderationis atque abundantiae duxit,* i. e. that moderation should

be observed in their celebration, and, in fact, that they should only be expected from the wealthy. [A different reading of this passage is given in the text.—Ed.]

c. The dative, accusative, genitive, and prepositions are used in the same kind of construction: *promptus rei, in rem, ad rem; inrumpere terram, in terram, ad terram;* Annal. xiv. 38, *cujus adversa pravitati ipsius, prospera ad fortunam rei publicae referebat,* unless you prefer taking this as a zeugma; xii. 55, *vim cultoribus et oppidanis ac plerumque in mercatores—audebant;* Annal. iv. 1, *sui obtegens, in alios criminator;* xiii. 21, *ultionem in delatores et praemia amicis obtinuit.* (See below, on the Brevity of the Style of Tacitus, III. 1).

d. There is the greatest variety in the mode of comparison. 1) The usual construction *quo—tanto, quanto—tanto, scite magis quam probe, avidius quam consultius.* 2) The positive, or other words which have its force, is used for the comparative in almost the same manner as we read in Agr. 4, *vehementius quam caute:* Annal. i. 68, *quanto inopina, tanto majora offunduntur;* c. 74, *quantoque incautius efferverat, poenitentia patiens tulit* (compare Livy i. 25, *Romani—Horatium accipiunt eo majore cum gaudio, quo prope metum res fuerat);* iv. 67, *quanto intentus olim — tanto resolutus.* Compare Livy xxi. 48, *quantum elatus—tantum anxius.* 3) *Tanto* is transposed; Annal. i. 81, *speciosa verbis —quantoque majore libertatis imagine tegebantur, tanto eruptura ad infensius servitium.* 4) *Tanto* or *eo* is omitted: Annal. ii. 5, *quanto acriora — studia militum et aversa* (see No. 2) *patrui voluntas, celerandae victoriae intentior;* Hist. iii. 58, *quanto quis clarior, minus fidus.* Compare Livy xxv. 38, *quo audacius erat (consilium) magis placebat.*

5) *Plura* is omitted: Annal. iii. 5, *tanto plura decora mox tribui par fuisse, quanto prima fors negavisset.* 6) *Eodem actu* is put for *tanto;* Hist. i. 12, *qui in dies quanto potentior, eodem actu invisior erat.* 7) *Quam* is used alone, meaning *more than*, *magis* or *potius* being omitted: Hist. iii. 60, *praedae quam periculorum socius;* Annal. iv. 61, *claris majoribus quam vetustis.* Compare Livy vii. 8, *multiplex quam pro numero damnum est.* 8) Also the more uncommon construction, Annal. iii. 8, *quem haud fratris interitu trucem, quam — aequiorem sibi sperabat,* put for *non tam — quam*, or *tantum abest ut—ut.*

e. Adjectives and genitive cases are mixed together: Annal. ii. 3, *Arminia—inter Parthorum et Romanas opes infida:* xii. 14, *ex quis Izates Adiabeno, mox Acbarus Arabum cum exercitu abscedunt.*

f. Verbs are variously and indeed rather uncommonly constructed: *fungi officiis* and *officia, potiri flagitii, honoribus, regiam* (by archaism), *adipisci aliquid* and *rerum, dominationis* (so in Tacitus alone); *praesidere alicui rei* and (what there seems to be no example of in other writers) *Medos, Pannoniam:* —*jubere alicui tributum; Germanos—non juberi, non regi;* Annal. xi. 32, *jussit ut Britannicus et Octavia — pergerent;* xiii. 15, *Britannico jussit exsurgeret;* chap. 40, *quibus jusserat ut—resisterent.* Compare Terence, Andria, ii. 5, 1, *me jussit—observarem;* Cicero also, Livy, and others sometimes join this verb with the dative. So with many verbs is joined the infinitive and *ut, ne, quod;* also the preposition *ad*, and the particle *ut* are interchanged, e. g. Annal. ii. 62, *haud leve decus Drusus quaesivit inliciens Germanos ad discordias, utque fracto jam Maroboduo usque in exitium insisteretur.* — The historical present

and perfect are joined together: Annal. ii. 7, *Caesar — jubet; ipse — sex legiones eo duxit;* c. 20. *Seio Tuberoni legato tradit equitem campumque; peditum aciem ita instruxit ut* &c.; i. 39, *perduci ad se Plancum imperat, recepitque in tribunal.*—"There are those who ascribe such things to negligence in the author. But he seems to me to have thus adjusted them designedly, like a skilful workman, so as to distinguish wisely and with a polished taste what words should flow with a more animated, and what with a more tranquil course." (Walther on the Annals, ii. 7).—In the same way he places together the historical present, the historical infinitive, and the perfect: Annal. iii. 20, *Eodem anno Tacfarinas —bellum in Africa renovat, vagis primum populationibus,— dein vicos exscindere, trahere graves praedas, postremo — cohortem Romanam circumsedit;* xii. 51, *conjunx gravida — toleravit; post — ubi quati uterus et viscera vibrantur, orare ut* &c.; xv. 27, *simul consilio terrorem adjicere, et megistanas Armenios —pellit sedibus* &c.

g. There is great variety in the syntax of particles: Annal. i. 2, *per acies aut proscriptione cadere;* ii. 70, *ea Germanico haud minus ira quam per metum accepta;* Annal. xi. 32, *ut quis reperiebatur in publico aut per latebras;* iv. 51, *nox aliis in audaciam, aliis ad formidinem opportuna.*—Germ. 20, *sororum filiis idem apud avonculum qui ad patrem honor;* Annal. vi. 22, *tristia in bonos, laeta apud deteriores esse.*

VI. Constructions of different kinds are often mingled together; and after beginning with some one form of speech, he passes abruptly, and without

regarding the law of uniformity, to another. Thus very often the passive and active voices are mixed up together: Annal. vi. 44, *nihil omissum quo ambiguos inliceret, prompti firmarentur;* iv. 44, *Albim transcendit, longius penetrata Germania quam quisquam priorum.* Compare Livy xxii. 6, *quae Punica religione servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes conjecit.*—The accusative, the accusative with the infinitive, the finite tenses of the verb and particles, are mingled together: Annal. xv. 50, *dum scelera principis et finem adesse imperio, deligendumque qui—succurreret inter se—jaciunt;* Hist. iv. 4, *prompsit sententiam ut honorificam in bonum principem, ita falsa aberant.* (Compare Annal. iii. 30, *fato potentiae — an satias capit.)* Annal. iv. 38, *quod alii modestiam, multi, quia diffideret, quidam ut degeneris animi interpretabantur.* Compare Sallust's Catiline, 10, *avaritia—superbiam, crudelitatem, deos neglegere, omnia venalia habere edocuit.* — The participle, gerund, finite tenses of the verb, and particles are placed together: Annal. i. 62, *quod Tiberio haud probatum, seu cuncta Germanici in deterius trahenti, sive — credebat;* iii. 31, *absentiam — meditans, sive ut — impleret;* xiii. 11, *orationibus, quas Seneca testificando quam honesta praeciperet vel jactandi ingenii — vulgabat;* c. 47, *socors ingenium ejus in contrarium trahens callidumque et simulatorem interpretando.* — He passes from what is called the oblique narration to the direct (as Livy i. 13, 47, 57): Annal. iv. 40, *ad ea Tiberius —principum diversam esse sortem; —falleris enim Sejane,* &c.; Hist. iii. 2, *ad ea Antonius Primus —festinationem ipsis utilem.*— "*Duae tunc Pannonicae ac Moesicae alae perrupere hostem,*" &c. See also the heads Syllepsis and Zeugma, in the remarks on the Brevity of his Style, V.

VII. In the position of words, Tacitus indulges in variety above other writers, following chiefly the practice of his own age, and he even sometimes inverts those phrases which other writers are wont to preserve constantly in a certain order, as, Annal. xi. 35, *consulto senatus;* (See above, III. e.)

a. Cognomens, or agnomens, are even PLACED BEFORE names; and in the same way, a term signifying the dignity and office with which any one is endowed, is expressed before the name itself, as *Agrippa Postumus* and *Postumus Agrippa*, *M. Annaeus Lucanus* and *Lucanus Annaeus*, *Asinius Pollio* and *Pollio Asinius* (thus Cicero also has *Pollio Asinius*), *Antonius Primus* and *Primus Antonius;* — *dictator Caesar* and *Caesar dictator* (as in Cicero, *rex Deiotarus*, in Livy, *rex Prusias*); *imperator Augustus*, *Augustus imperator*; but when this dignity was perpetual, from the age of Julius Caesar downwards, the title of *imperator* (as before, in general, that of *dictator*) used to be placed before the proper name. Compare Suetonius, Caesar, 76, *honores nimios recepit —praenomen imperatoris.* — So, besides the common arrangement, *praetor Antistius*, *procurator Marius*, *augur Lentulus* (as in Livy we have *consul Aemilius*, *consul Sulpicius*). Add to these, *tribunus plebis*, and *plebei*, and *plebis (plebei) tribunus.*

b. Together with the common order of the particles we find an ANASTROPHE of the prepositions and conjunctions after the manner of the poets, which is admitted also, though less often, by other writers, chiefly of the Silver Age: *Amisiam et Lupiam amnes* INTER, *disjectas inter et vix pervias arenas*, *sedes inter Vestalium:* —*praeturam* INTRA *stetit*, *unum* INTRA *damnum;* and

thus are used *super*, *extra*, *ultra*, *contra*, *penes*, *propter*, *juxta*, *apud*, *ad*, and *ab* :—Annal. v. 9, *vanescente* QUAMQUAM *plebis ira* (so Cicero) ; Annal. i. 5, *acribus* NAMQUE *custodiis domum — sepserat* (so Livy very often) ; Annal. ii. 15, *classem* QUIPPE (Cicero); Hist. ii. 17, *inritabat* QUIN ETIAM (Capitolinus) ; Dial. 6, *illis* QUIN IMMO (in other writers very rare, and everywhere having the first place) ; Annal. xi. 30, *frueretur* IMMO *iis* (Plautus); Germ. 30, *durant* SIQUIDEM *colles* (Pliny the elder).

c. With the remarks we have made above (VI.) on the mixture of constructions may be compared the Synchysis, which Quintilian calls *a mixture of words*, and of which Livy likewise furnishes not a few examples: Annal. i. 10, *Pompeianarum gratiam partium ;* xii. 65, *seu Britannicus rerum seu Nero potiretur ;* xiv. 2, *tradit Cluvius ardore retinendae Agrippinam potentiae eo usque provectam, ut*, &c.; c. 4, *pluribus sermonibus, modo familiaritate juvenili Nero et rursus adductus — tracto in longum convictu, prosequitur abeuntem ;* iii. 42, *inconditam multitudinem adhuc disjecit*, that is, *inconditam adhuc.* You may also refer Tmesis to this head: Annal. xiii. 50, *acri etiam populi Romani tum libertate ;* Dial. 31, *neque enim dum arte et scientia* &c., that is, *nondum enim ;* Hist. i. 20, *at illis vix decucumae super portiones erant.*

ON THE FORCE AND BREVITY OF THE STYLE OF TACITUS.

All agree without any hesitation, that the peculiar character of Tacitus's style is seen most in the concise brevity of his language; and those who have looked into it more closely, till they have even explored all the inmost recesses of his sometimes abrupt diction, prefer Tacitus to all other writers for this very reason, and admire the divine aspect of his genius, which, the nearer they approach it, and the more intently they hang upon its contemplation, so much the more deeply penetrates the minds of the beholders. But if you ask whence proceeds and what means that taciturn brevity, and wherefore it is that you are sometimes moved by it in the inmost corner of your heart, seek the answer from actual life, both that of Tacitus and your own. Many were then (as now they are, if we would honestly confess it) the faults, the vices, the crimes of men, with but rare examples of substantial well-tried virtue, great were envy and the ignorance of right, many were the mockeries that were made of the affairs of men, and the empty dissensions of the populace; while but very few then, as in our own time even by no means all, were seeking better and higher things. And, as it by no means becomes us, who are blest with the hopes and consolations of the Christian faith, to mourn over those things which are faulty in our own age with the same grief as that with which we behold a Roman, who accounted nothing

to be loftier and grander than the hereditary glory and majesty of his country, mourning over the common corruption of all things, and over the republic falling headlong to ruin; so we surely cannot blame in Tacitus that kind of bitter pleasure, and that indignant sparing of words, by which,—that he might not, like Suetonius, impose too heavy a burthen on his own and his readers' sense of shame by narrating everything at length with a disgusting loquacity,—he has generally conveyed a deeper meaning than his words express.*

I. And first, in the very COLLOCATION OF HIS WORDS there is a certain force and brevity: *non* is sometimes separated from its verb and placed first, to increase the force of the sentence, as, Annal. vi. 32, *sed non Tiberius omisit incepta;* chap. 38, *non enim Tiberium, quanquam triennio post caedem Sejani—tempus, preces, satias mitigabant;* Hist. ii. 70, *at non Vitellius flexit oculos.*—Frequently a word is placed first, to imply tacitly the converse of what is stated, as Annal. iii. 2, *miserat duas praetorias cohortes Caesar*, but did not come himself. Not unfrequently some particle is implied in the word which is put first, as, Annal. ii. 39. *vivere* (adhuc) *Agrippam;* chap. 40, *postremo dat negotium Sallustio* (tandem certus consilii).

* The most important passage for discovering the feelings from which this peculiarity of the style of Tacitus proceeded, is that in the Germania (33), where, with as deep emotion as he has ever shown, he says, *maneat quaeso duretque gentibus*, &c. Compare also Annal. iii. 55, at the end, and Agric. 2, 3; *dedimus profecto grande patientiae documentum—adempto per inquisitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio*, &c.—*prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis terminos per silentium venimus.*

II. The force of the language depends often on SINGLE WORDS.

a. On FREQUENTATIVES, which are repeatedly used by Tacitus (and Sallust): some indeed he alone employs, as *infensare, redemptare;* in contemporary authors also, and the writers of a later age, we find *appellitare, adsultare, auctitare, despectare, suspectare* (i. e. suspectum habere), *emptitare, mansitare, praetentare.* But it must be well observed, that it is not always the force of the language which depends on these words; but that they also often express an attempt, and that a vain one (as *loqui coeptare*), and in this way also assist the brevity of the style.

b. On single words put ABSOLUTELY: Hist. iii. 55, *Latium* (i. e. jus Latii) *externis dilargiri;* Annal. ii. 32. *saxo* (Tarpeio) *dejectus est* (compare iv. 29, *robur et saxum aut paricidarum poenas minitari*). — Agr. 22, *nec — unquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit,* that is, through greediness of praise and glory. Hist. v. 1, *occupare principem adhuc vacuum,* that is, not yet engaged by another, whose favour does not yet incline to any one; so we have *mulier vacua,* Annal. xiii. 44, *vacuus adulter,* xi. 12. — Hist. i. 76, *ne Aquitania quidem — diu mansit,* that is, continued faithful. Annal. ii. 33, *excessit Fronto* (that is, went beyond, or digressed from, the subject before the senate), *et postulavit,* &c. (Compare Quintil. iii. 9, 4, *egressio, vel, quod usitatius esse coepit, excessus.*) Dial. 21, *videtur mihi inter Menenios — studuisse,* after the manner of the Silver Age, in which *studere* is used absolutely for the study of the art of rhetoric.

c. On the MEANING of the words themselves: as ex-

amples of which we may adduce *rimari, introspicere, dispicere, gliscere (adolescere, crescere, augeri*, and *augere* with a passive signification,) *saevus, atrox, ferox, trux, truculentus, grandis, ingens, enormis*, all which words he uses oftener than other writers.

III. By an unusual mode of using number, cases, adjectives, moods, and particles, the language is rendered more effective and concise.

a. The plural, chiefly of those nouns which are called abstract, expresses various kinds and modes of action: Annal. i. 74, *formam vitae iniit, quam postea celebrem miseriae temporum et audaciae hominum fecerunt;* xiv. 4, *ferendas parentium iracundias;* Germ. 2, *ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim, minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mixtos.*

b. There is a peculiar force and brevity in the use of the genitive (concerning the nominative put absolutely see below under ellipsis, b. *α. dolor, ira*): Annal. xv. 36, *non longam sui absentiam et cuncta in republica perinde immota ac prospera fore* (*sui* refers to Nero, whose great idea of his own importance is plain from all accounts); xi. 24, *conditor nostri Romulus;* ii. 54, *nostri origo* (a Roman is speaking).—The genitive plural expresses custom: Annal. ii. 1, *Phraates — cuncta venerantium officia ad Augustum verterat* (which are wont to be offered by those who reverence their prince); vi. 40, *supplicia civium effugit* (by which citizens are wont to be affected).—To express the dispositions and peculiarities of men, the genitive is used more frequently than in other authors, and in a still more unusual way in the plural number: Annal. iv. 31, *Tiberius compositus alias*

et velut eluctantium verborum.—The partitive genitive is used more extensively than in other writers, and its use increases the force and perspicuity of the narrative; the same remark applies to the genitive joined with pronouns. Annal. xii. 17, *navium quasdam circumvenere barbari praefecto cohortis et plerisque centurionum interfectis;* chap. 18, *Romanorum nemo id auctoritatis aderat, ut,* &c. So we find *id temporis, solitudinis, honoris,* Hist. iv. 23, *neque unquam id malorum — ut,* &c. — *Ingens rerum, praecipuus circumveniendi, primus luendae poenae.* (See below, where Graecisms are treated of.) — The genitive which is called objective is joined with the subjective: Hist. iii. 10, *ut proditionis ira militum;* Annal. xii. 26, *Britannici fortunae maeror* (Cic. *canum adulatio dominorum*). To this class belongs that very difficult passage, Annal. xiv, 61, *itur etiam in principis laudes repetitum venerantium;* by those who reverenced the prince on account of his wife's restoration; compare xi. 23, *et studiis diversis apud principem certabatur adseverantium, non adeo aegram Italiam, ut,* &c. Compare ON THE POETICAL COMPLEXION OF THE STYLE OF TACITUS, III. a.—The genitive of the passive participle in *endus*, joined with the same case of the substantive (or of the gerund with the case which belongs to the verb), the word *causa* being omitted, — is used by no writer oftener than by Tacitus, in his strong desire of brevity, to express the end which any one pursues: Annal. ii. 59, *Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis;* iv. 2, *neque senatorio ambitu abstinebat clientes suos honoribus aut provinciis ornandi.* — Of the same kind are genitives joined with substantives: Hist, iii. 40, *agendi tempora consultando consumpsit;* chap. 50, *Silvanum socordem bello et*

dies rerum verbis terentem; Annal. i. 58, *non hic mihi primus erga populum Romanum fidei et constantiae* (sc. ostentandae) *dies.*

c. Very similar is the use of the DATIVE, which Tacitus has employed more frequently than any other writer, and in a more varied manner, to express an end and advantage, and that too in such a way that in this mode of speaking also he has respect to brevity: as it is commonly said *triumvir reipublicae constituendae, dividendis agris, comitia regi creando,* so Annal. vi. 37, *cum ille equum placando amni adornasset;* chap. 43, *ubi data fides reddendae dominationi venisse, adlevatur animum;* Hist. iii. 20, *num — cetera expugnandis urbibus* (utilia) *attulissent;* Annal. xiv. 3, *additurum — defunctae templum et aras et cetera ostentandae pietati* (compare Livy xxx. 6, *quae restinguendo igni forent portantes*); — Annal. ii. 57, *amici accendendis offensionibus callidi;* Annal. xiv. 59, *repertus est — nudus exercitando corpori.* — Annal. xii. 46, *diem locumque foederi accepit;* i. 51, *incessit itineri et proelio.* To the same class belong *obtentui, ostentui, inrisui, derisui, usui, metui, despectui, potui, victui, vestitui, indutui, visui, venatui esse,* which are for the most part rare in other writers. For the rest, see below, where Graecisms are treated of.

d. The ACCUSATIVE is often joined with verbs which express motion without a preposition, after the manner of the Greeks and of the poets, as *ripam accedere* (Cicero), *oppidum inrumpere* (Caesar, Sallust), *incursare Germaniam* (Livy), *involare castra* (Cicero, *rostra advolare*), *advolvi genua* (Sallust), *incidere locum, incidere aliquem* (in aliquem), *adventare propinqua Seleuciae,* Annal. vi. 44; *propinquare campos* (Sallust), *eniti aggerem* (Livy), *escendere suggestum* (Cicero, Livy, and

et velut eluctantium verborum.—The partitive genitive is used more extensively than in other writers, and its use increases the force and perspicuity of the narrative; the same remark applies to the genitive joined with pronouns. Annal. xii. 17, *navium quasdam circumvenere barbari praefecto cohortis et plerisque centurionum interfectis;* chap. 18, *Romanorum nemo id auctoritatis aderat, ut,* &c. So we find *id temporis, solitudinis, honoris,* Hist. iv. 23, *neque unquam id malorum — ut,* &c. — *Ingens rerum, praecipuus circumveniendi, primus luendae poenae.* (See below, where Graecisms are treated of.) — The genitive which is called objective is joined with the subjective: Hist. iii. 10, *ut proditionis ira militum;* Annal. xii. 26, *Britannici fortunae maeror* (Cic. *canum adulatio dominorum*). To this class belongs that very difficult passage, Annal. xiv, 61, *itur etiam in principis laudes repetitum venerantium;* by those who reverenced the prince on account of his wife's restoration; compare xi. 23, *et studiis diversis apud principem certabatur adseverantium, non adeo aegram Italiam, ut,* &c. Compare On the Poetical Complexion of the Style of Tacitus, III. a.—The genitive of the passive participle in *endus*, joined with the same case of the substantive (or of the gerund with the case which belongs to the verb), the word *causa* being omitted, — is used by no writer oftener than by Tacitus, in his strong desire of brevity, to express the end which any one pursues: Annal. ii. 59, *Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis;* iv. 2, *neque senatorio ambitu abstinebat clientes suos honoribus aut provinciis ornandi.* — Of the same kind are genitives joined with substantives: Hist, iii. 40, *agendi tempora consultando consumpsit;* chap. 50, *Silvanum socordem bello et*

dies rerum verbis terentem; Annal. i. 58, *non hic mihi primus erga populum Romanum fidei et constantiae* (sc. ostentandae) *dies.*

c. Very similar is the use of the DATIVE, which Tacitus has employed more frequently than any other writer, and in a more varied manner, to express an end and advantage, and that too in such a way that in this mode of speaking also he has respect to brevity: as it is commonly said *triumvir reipublicae constituendae, dividendis agris, comitia regi creando,* so Annal. vi. 37, *cum ille equum placando amni adornasset;* chap. 43, *ubi data fides reddendae dominationi venisse, adlevatur animum;* Hist. iii. 20, *num — cetera expugnandis urbibus* (utilia) *attulissent;* Annal. xiv. 3, *additurum — defunctae templum et aras et cetera ostentandae pietati* (compare Livy xxx. 6, *quae restinguendo igni forent portantes*); — Annal. ii. 57, *amici accendendis offensionibus callidi;* Annal. xiv. 59, *repertus est — nudus exercitando corpori.* — Annal. xii. 46, *diem locumque foederi accepit;* i. 51, *incessit itineri et proelio.* To the same class belong *obtentui, ostentui, inrisui, derisui, usui, metui, despectui, potui, victui, vestitui, indutui, visui, venatui esse,* which are for the most part rare in other writers. For the rest, see below, where Graecisms are treated of.

d. The ACCUSATIVE is often joined with verbs which express motion without a preposition, after the manner of the Greeks and of the poets, as *ripam accedere* (Cicero), *oppidum inrumpere* (Caesar, Sallust), *incursare Germaniam* (Livy), *involare castra* (Cicero, *rostra advolare*), *advolvi genua* (Sallust), *incidere locum, incidere aliquem* (in aliquem), *adventare propinqua Seleuciae,* Annal. vi. 44; *propinquare campos* (Sallust), *eniti aggerem* (Livy), *escendere suggestum* (Cicero, Livy, and

others), *evadere angustias* (Livy), *elabi pugnam, egredi tentoria* (Sallust), *exire lubricum juventae*.—This remark applies to the following passages which depart from common usage: Hist. iv. 76, *Germanos—non juberi, non regi;* i. 16, *gentibus, quae regnantur* (Pliny the elder); Annal. iii. 39, *is proximum exercitum praesidebat;* Germ. 43, *vertices montium — insederunt;* Annal. xi. 20, *insignia triumphi indulgere,* i. e. concedere; as if it were to indulge any one with them, and so to yield them (Juvenal, *se indulgere,* i. e. permittere *alicui); similarly* Tacitus uses *propugnare, potiri, fungi, vesci, disserere, fremere aliquam rem;* but he likewise, that thus he might add force to the narrative, has sometimes used prepositions, where the common language employs the accusative: Hist. ix. 48, *ea de caede quam verissime expediam;* Germ. 34, *reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam scire.* Concerning the ABLATIVE of substantives put absolutely, see below, where the participle is treated of.

e. Brevity is promoted by ADJECTIVES, which, when joined to substantives, have the force of genitives, or of other constructions, chiefly in expressing those things which belong to lands, cities, or men: Annal. iii. 43, *Trevericus tumultus;* iv. 20, *provincialia uxorum crimina;* xv. 23, *Actiaca religio;* iv. 3, *municipalis adulter;* Hist. iv. 15, *Caianae* (Caii imperatoris) *expeditiones;* Annal. i. 6, *novercalia odia;* chap. 7, *uxorius ambitus; senilis adoptio;* 33, *muliebres offensiones;* iv. 2, *senatorius ambitus,* objectively, as chap. 62, *municipalis ambitio;* xii. 51, *metus hostilis;* ii. 44, *vacui externo metu;* Dial. 29, *histrionalis favor.* No one has oftener used this manner of speaking; but many similar examples are

also found in the older writers, as in Cicero, pro Lege Manilia, xii, *Ostiense incommodum;* Caes. B. C. ii. 32, *Corfiniensis ignominia;* Cic. Fam. ii. 17, *metus Parthicus,* objectively.

f. THE INFINITIVE is very frequently used by Tacitus for the sake of this same brevity and force. The infinitive which is called historical is used oftener than by other writers (as Livy and Sallust; see, ON THE VARIETY, &c. V. f.); and it is joined also with particles, and not only with demonstrative particles, as is the custom of other writers, but even with copulatives: Hist. iii. 10, *ubi crudescere seditio et a conviciis ac probris ad tela et manus transibant injici catenas Flaviano jubet.* Annal. xi. 34, *jam erat in adspectu Messallina — cum obstrepere accusator,* &c. Sometimes it includes in itself *velle* and *posse,* or *solere:* Hist. v. 15, *Civilis instare fortunae, Cerialis abolere* (sc. volebat) *ignominiam;* Germ. 7, *in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium* (sc. poterat). Compare the similar use of the indicative, subjunctive, and participle, below, h. i. — By no writer is the infinite more often joined with verbs which are commonly constructed with the particles *ut, ne, quominus, quod,* or in some other manner. Thus we find used in the older writers also, but less frequently, *hortari, impellere, praecipere, permittere, postulare, imperare, monere, maturare, prohibere, instare, erubescere, consentire, destinare, pergere,* as Annal. xi. 4 (Livy, and others), *pergitque — addere reos equites Romanorum;* chap. 34, *instabat — Narcissus aperire ambages.* A similar use of the following words is adopted by the poets: *suadere, incumbere, mandare, orare, urgere, ambiri, accingi, arcere, persistere, dare, adigere, deesse,* as

Hist. iii. 58, *nec deerat ipse voltu, voce, lacrimis misericordiam elicere* (but the common construction is, Annal. xiv. 39, *nec defuit Polyclitus quominus — incederet).* Tacitus alone appears thus to have used *percellere, perpellere, aemulari, censere, nuntiare, denuntiare, scribere* (i. e. nuntio, scripto imperare), *impetrare, inlicere, inducere* (i. e. permovere), *componere, pangere, obsistere* (Germ. 34, *obstitit Oceanus* (τῷ) *in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri*), *inlacrimare* (Annal. ii. 71, *inlacrimabunt* (τῷ) *quondam florentem — muliebri fraude cecidisse.* See ON THE POETICAL COMPLEXION, &c. III. c. γ. To the verbs *deferre* and *incusare,* the infinitive is joined in the place of a genitive or of the particle *quod;* Annal. ii. 27, *Libo Drusus defertur moliri res novas;* iii. 38, *neque minus Rhoemetalcen — incusans popularium injurias inultas sinere* (compare below, ON GRAECISMS). On the other hand, *quod* and *ut* are sometimes employed in a more unusual manner for the accusative with the infinitive: *creditum quod — voluisset; quibus jusserat ut — resisterent.* See above, d. near the end.

g. The INDICATIVE is often, even in the *obliqua oratio,* joined to the particle *dum,* as Annal. ii. 81, *Piso oravit uti traditis armis maneret in castello, dum Caesar cui Syriam permitteret consulitur.* Former writers have seldom spoken thus; and so in general the indicative is found more frequently in Tacitus than in other historical writers, when sentences are inserted in the *obliqua oratio* as if they proceeded from the mind of the writer himself, as Hist. iv. 16, *se cum cohorte, cui praeerat, —tumultum compressurum.* — No one, moreover, has oftener used the indicative for the subjunctive, in that kind of sen-

tences which indicate that that which is implied in the condition had almost happened, as we have it in Livy, who not unfrequently speaks thus: iii. 19, *nunc nisi Latini — arma sumpsissent — deleti eramus,* we were lost. Generally *nisi,* more rarely *si,* joined with the pluperfect, and sometimes with the imperfect, begins the condition, and the idea which is limited by it oftener precedes than follows in the imperfect, the pluperfect, and sometimes the perfect: Annal. xi. 10, *reciperare Armeniam avebat, ni a Vibio Marso — cohibitus foret;* i. 63, *trudebanturque in paludem — ni Caesar — legiones instruxisset;* Hist. i. 16, *si immensum imperii corpus stare — sine rectore posset, dignus eram, a quo res publica inciperet.* — Annal. xi. 37, *ni caedem ejus — properavisset, verterat pernicies in accusatorem* (thus Cicero, *praeclare viceramus, nisi — Lepidus recepisset Antonium*). — Hist. i. 64, *prope in proelium exarsere, ni Valens — admonuisset* (thus Livy, ii. 10, *pons iter paene hostibus dedit, ni unus vir fuisset*). Instances conformed to the common usage of the language are less frequent in Tacitus.

To the same class belongs the ENALLAGE OF THE IMPERFECT FOR THE PLUPERFECT, which is also used by the older writers, as Annal. xii. 37, *si statim deditus traderer* (traditus essem, fuissem), *neque mea fortuna, neque tua gloria inclaruisset.* Compare Hist. i. 48, *Piso* (interfectus) *unum et tricesimum aetatis annum explebat.* In the USE OF TENSES in general there is great force. The historical present is very frequently used (take as an example of all the rest, Annal. i. 21): following the writers of the former age, chiefly the poets, he uses the perfect with the force of the Greek aorist, 1) To ex-

press custom; Agr. 9, *haud semper errat fama; aliquando et elegit.* 2) In the place of the pluperfect: Hist. i. 53, *hunc juvenem Galba — legioni praeposuit; mox — ut peculatorem flagitari jussit* (praeposuerat, jusserat olim). 3) The infinitive present for the infinitive future: Annal. ii. 34, *Lucius Piso — abire se et cedere urbe — testabatur.* 4) The perfect for the infinitive future; iv. 28, *non enim se caedem principis — uno socio cogitasse* (he would not have thought of it), and Cicero furnishes a very similar example, Phil. ii. 3.

h. THE SUBJUNCTIVE has not unfrequently a pregnant sense, involving *posse, velle, opus esse* (compare the remarks on the historical infinitive and the participle). We find examples of the same thing in Cicero, Livy, and others: Agr, 17, *cum Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset* (obrui potuisset), *sustinuit quoque molem Julius Frontinus;* Annal. i. 11, *Tiberioque etiam in rebus quas non occuleret* (occulere vellet) — *obscura verba;* Agr. 22, *ex iracundia nihil supererat; secretum et silentium ejus non timeres* (non erat causa cur timeres). To which the common phrase *tum cerneres, crederes,* approaches very nearly. There is a similar but less frequent use of the indicative: Annal. iv. 40, *si dubitatione Augusti movemur* (nos moveri fas est), *quanto validius est, quod,* &c.; ii. 34, *Lucius Piso — abire se et cedere urbe* (cessurum), *victurum in aliquo abdito et longinquo rure testabatur; simul curiam relinquebat,* i. e. in eo erat ut relinqueret. Compare Hist. i. 46, *militare otium redimebant.*

i. THE PARTICIPLE does much to increase force of language and concise brevity of style, and its use is more varied in Tacitus than in other writers.

a. The perfect participle of deponent verbs is put indefinitively (ἀοριστῶς), for the present participle, as *ratus, veritus,* and others are even in the ordinary language; Hist. ii. 96, *in hunc modum etiam Vitellius apud milites disseruit praetorianos nuper exauctoratos insectatus;* and also, as Livy had used it before, for the future passive participle, which has the force of a present participle: Annal. xvi. 21, *Nero virtutem ipsam exscindere concupivit interfecto* (interficiendo) *Thrasea Paeto.* — The present participle not unfrequently expresses an attempt (compare the remarks on the subjunctive and historical infinitive): Hist. ii. 18, *retinenti duci tela intentare.* It is used for the infinitive: Annal. xiii. 50, *sublatis portoriis sequens* (thus Cicero uses, *consequens,* but with *esse* added) *ut tributorum abolitio expostularetur.* Likewise for a substantive: Annal. iii. 40, *disserebant de — superbia praesidentium,* i. e. praesidum. Compare Sen. Clem. 19, *nihil magis decorum regenti quam clementia.* There is a similar brevity (βραχυλογία) in the use of the future participle active: Annal. vi. 3, *incusabatur facile toleraturus exsilium delecta Lesbo* (quod facile toleraturus esset): Hist. ii. 74, *ceterae — legiones secuturae sperabantur* (sperabantur fore ut sequerentur).—The perfect passive participle is used for the finite tenses of the verb: Annal. vi. 32, *cupitum id Tiberio,* i. e. cupiebat; and so it takes the place of a substantive (as in Plautus); Annal. iv. 3, *nepotes adulti moram cupitis adferebant.* — The neuter of the future passive participle is joined with the verb *habere,* after the manner of the Silver Age (like the perfect participle, *oratum te habeo,* and as we read in Cicero, *aedem tuendam habere*): *dicendum, respondendum, nubendum habere.*

β) Oftener and still more boldly than other writers, he uses the perfect passive participle in the place of an abstract substantive, when it refers even to inanimate objects: Annal. i. 8, *cum occisus dictator Caesar—pulcherrimum facinus videretur;* Annal. vi. 27, *genus illi decorum, vivida senectus; et non permissa provincia dignationem addiderat.* Compare Livy xxvii. 37, *liberatas religione mentes turbavit rursus nuntiatum, Frusinone infantem natum esse quadrimo parem.*

γ) Adjectives ending in *ilis* are expressed by perfect passive participles; in the same way adjectives which indicate a certain ease and perpetuity are expressed by future active participles, and others also by future passive participles: Agr. 18, *nihil arduum aut invictum credere* (so Sallust); Annal. i. 28, *noctem minacem et in scelus erupturam fors lenivit;* iv. 38, *pulcherrimae effigies et mansurae* (lasting, enduring); Dial. 22, *firmus sane paries et duraturus;* Annal. ii. 38 (so Livy, the poets, and the writers of the Silver Age), *quamvis domus Hortensii pudendam ad inopiam delaberetur* (foedam, turpem; but it is easily perceived that the participle is more forcible); Hist. iii. 84, *pudenda latebra semet occultans.*

δ) Ablatives which are called absolute are used in an unusual way, and generally elliptically; but examples of the same thing are not wanting in the older writers. The most uncommon case is that of the future active participle employed in this way: Hist. ii. 32, *inrupturis tam infestis nationibus.* Very often the participle of the substantive verb (*ὤν*) must be supplied as it were in thought, when a substantive is found (put absolutely) joined with an adjective or with a pronoun: Hist. iii.

26, *incipere oppugnationem — arduum, et nullo juxta subsidio anceps;* Annal. xi. 23, *suffecisse olim indigenas consanguineis populis,* that is, when yet the nations of Italy were of the same race as the Romans; Livy xxxvi. 6, *labante — disciplina et multorum eo statu, qui diuturnus esse non posset.* The ellipsis is harsher when the adjective or substantive is used alone in this manner: Annal. i. 6, *juxta periculoso ficta seu vera promeret,* i. e. cum juxta periculosum esset (as Livy; so *dubio, incerto, sereno*); Annal. iv. 5, *initio ab Syria* (in other passages we read, *initio — orto;* as, Hist. iii. 44, *initio — a prima Adjutrice legione orto*); iii. 28, *dedit jura, quîs pace et principe uteremur;* i. 59, *aliis gentibus ignorantia imperii Romani inexperta esse supplicia.* Compare Caesar B. C. ii. 23, *Caesaris naves ejus fuga se receperunt.* Like this is the use of the ablative of substantives in the place of an adverb, as in the older writers also *casu, consensu, nomine, ratione, judicio* (as if *adhibito* were to be added), and similar words are found: Annal. i. 59, *non enim se proditione — sed palam — bellum tractare;* Dial. 25, *solum inter hos arbitror Brutum non malignitate nec invidia, sed simpliciter et ingenue judicium animi sui detexisse;* Annal. xiv. 5, *Acerronia imprudentia* (cum imprudenter ageret) — *navalibus telis conficitur,* which serve, as it were, for a transition to that use of the ablative, in which, oftener than in other writers, it is used by itself, without the participle which is commonly joined with it (*ductus, commotus*), to express a reason; Annal. i. 57, *juvenis conscientia cunctabatur;* Hist. i. 63, *non ob praedam aut spoliandi cupidine, sed furore et rabie;* Annal. xii. 10, *non se foederis ignaros, nec defectione a familia Arsacidarum venire.* The perfect passive par-

ticiple is put absolutely, the substantive being omitted, much oftener in Tacitus than in the older writers; Annal. i. 35, *strictum obtulit gladium addito acutiorem esse.* Thus *adjecto, cognito, intellecto, comperto, audito, explorato, nuntiato, quaesito, pensitato, praedicto, credito, distincto, repetito, certato, disceptato, exspectato, interdicto,* are found in this writer, and what is very rare in other authors, even without the addition of any words to hold the place of the object: Annal. xv. 14, *et multum invicem disceptato, Monobazus — testis — adhibetur.*

k. THE SUPINE, which no writer uses more frequently than Tacitus, is used both in the accusative and ablative for the sake of brevity: for example; *ultum, perditum, raptum, inlusum ire, oppugnatum venire;* —*pudet dictu* appears to be used by Tacitus alone. —*Missu, admonitu alicujus,* and similar phrases, are not without example in former writers.

l. Great power lies in the use of PREPOSITIONS, when they are put, according to a rather unfrequent usage, for a simple case (sometimes, but not so often, the genitive or another case is used, contrary to the common mode of speech, in place of a preposition, as, Hist. i. 46, *ne volgi largitione* (in vulgus) *centurionum animos averteret).* For example, Annal. xii. 25, *adoptio in Domitium —festinatur;* xi. 25, *isque illi finis inscitiae erga domum suam fuit* (in things relating to his house); Hist. ii. 56, *in omne fas nefasque avidi aut venales;* Annal. iii. 24, *Silanus in nepti Augusti adulter;* xv. 44, *in crimine incendii — convicti sunt;* i. 12, *addidit laudem de Augusto;* Hist i. 67, *de caede Galbae ignari;* Annal. ii. 39, *forma haud dissimili in dominum*

erat; Agr. 12, *nec aliud pro nobis utilius.* Compare On the Variety of the Style of Tacitus, V. c. and On the Poetical Complexion, &c. III. d. γ.

IV. Frequently in the composition of a sentence a deeper sense lies hid, when the form of expression not being perfect and precise, and the ordinary connection of words being neglected, the feeling alone with which the soul of the writer is moved, and the thought which he has conceived in his mind, are expressed by a structure of the sentence which is called pregnant. There are indeed such passages in the writers of the former age also, chiefly in Livy; but not so used as to form an essential feature of their style. Hist. iii. 49, *primus Antonius nequaquam pari innocentia post Cremonam* (incensam) *agebat;* Annal. iv. 40, *posse ipsam Liviam statuere, nubendum post Drusum* (mortuum), *an in penatibus isdem tolerandum haberet;* Annal. i. 39, *jus legationis* (violatum) *atque ipsius Planci — casum — facunde miseratur;* Agr. 18, *qui classem, qui navis, qui mare exspectabant,* that is, the violence of the sea, and the aid to be gained from thence; Annal. ii. 40, *offerant pecuniam, fidem atque pericula polliceantur,* that is, to share the danger; Hist. iv. 59, *ceteros, ut quisque flagitium navaverat* (that is, had exerted himself in perpetrating wickedness, as in Cicero we have *navare rempublicam) praemiis attollit.*—The prepositions *in* and *ad* are often used to form a pregnant sense: Annal. i. 55, *dissidere hostem in Arminium ac Segestem,* that is, they quarrelled to such a degree that some went over to the side of Arminius, and others to that of Segestes;

chap. 57, *uxor Arminii — neque victa in lacrimas* (that is, so as to shed tears), *neque voce supplex;* iii. 19, *cęteris ad dicendum testimonium exterritis,* that is, so as to utter their testimony. Compare Livy ii. 40, *Coriolanus — consternatus ab sede sua cum ferret matri obviae complexum;* and vii. 42, *multitudinem ad arma consternatum esse.*

V. Nearly allied to these examples are the forms of speech to which the Greek grammarians have applied the terms *συλλήψις* and *ζεύγμα*, in which words that refer to different kinds of things, or to different persons, are joined together, and included in one and the same kind of construction. Compare On the Variety, &c. V. b. near the end.

a. The term Syllepsis I would apply chiefly to those passages in which things of an entirely different nature are mentioned in connection with each other; as, *donec ira et dies permansit; quia dissimulationem nox et lascivia exemerat; ubi nocte ac laetitia incaluisse videt; mixti copiis et laetitia; Germania a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separatur; tribuni cum terrore et armatorum catervis volitabant.* In all these cases some affection of the mind is so connected with things not pertaining to the mind, that on account of this very difference between the two notions, you would expect them to be differently expressed, either by the use of words which properly belong to each, or at least by some variation in the construction of the sentence. To this head I would also refer those passages where the preposition *in* joined with an accusative includes at the same time the ablative or some other sense; Germ. 46, *in medium relinquam*

i. e. in dubium vocatum relinquam in medio; Annal. iv. 25, *aderant semisomnos in barbaros*, i. e. aderant et irruebant (see below, ON THE POETICAL COMPLEXION, &c. III. c. γ.): and moreover those in which the same word refers to different things, all of which might be joined with it according to the usage of the language; as, Hist. III. 41, *ut — Gallias et exercitus et Germaniae gentes novumque bellum cieret.* Compare also Hist. ii. 56, *in omne fas nefasque avidi*, that is, greedy of all things, whether it were right or wrong to desire them.

b. The term ZEUGMA applies to those cases in which a verb that only suits the words immediately preceding it, and not also those which are more remote, is yet made to embrace the latter as well as the former within the same kind of construction, some similar verb being, as it were, implied in the one used: Annal. vi. 21, *tum complexus eum Tiberius praescium periculorum* (esse fatetur) *et incolumem fore gratatur;* chap. 24, *ut, quemadmodum nurum filiumque fratris et nepotes* (interfecisset) *domumque omnem caedibus complevisset, ita*, &c.; Germ. 2, *quoniam qui primi Rhenum transgressi ac nunc Tungri* (vocentur), *tunc Germani vocati sint;* chap. 36, *ita qui olim boni aequique Cherusci* (vocabantur) *nunc inertes ac stulti vocantur;* Annal. i. 58, *quia Romanis Germanisque idem conducere* (putabam) *et pacem quam bellum probabam;* xiii. 56, *deesse nobis* (potest) *terra in qua vivamus, in qua moriamur non potest;* Hist. i. 8, *vir facundus et pacis artibus* (expertus), *bellis inexpertus.* But the zeugma is not always in the verb, but sometimes also in a word joined to it; as, Annal. ii. 73, *et erant qui (Germanici) formam, aeta-*

tem, genus mortis, ob propinquitatem etiam locorum, in quibus interiit, magni Alexandri (formae, aetati, et) *fatis adaequarent.*

VI. The figure which is properly called ELLIPSIS is met with extensively in Tacitus, and has very great power in augmenting the brevity and conciseness of his language. In the plays of the comedians also, and in the letters of Cicero, this form of expression is often met with. A few examples of each case of it will suffice.

a. NOUNS are omitted: *Papia Poppaea* (lex), *Sulpicia* (gens), *postero* (die), *octingentesimo post Romam conditam* (anno), *ad duodecimum* (lapidem), *laureatae* (litterae), *Piraeeus Atticae orae* (portus), *Apicata Sejani* (uxor), *pretium est* (operae). Also PRONOUNS: the substantive pronoun, Annal. i. 35, *si vellet imperium, promptos* (se) *ostentavere*: the demonstrative pronoun; iv. 60, *gnarus praeferocem* (eum esse): the relative pronoun; Annal. vi. 7, *Sejus Quadratus*, (cujus) *originem non repperi;* chap. 36. *quîs neque boni intellectus neque mali cura, sed* (qui) *mercede aluntur.* There are examples also in older writers of the omission of the relative in those phrases which are placed in apposition with the principal sentence, either to afford an explanation or to express the intention: Annal. vi. 10, *L. Piso pontifex,* (quod) *rarum in tanta claritudine, fato obiit;* i. 3, *Augustus, subsidia dominationi,* (quae essent) *Claudium Marcellum — Marcum Agrippam — extulit.*

b. VERBS are omitted.

a. The infinitive of THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB; and in several passages this construction is such that the accusative or nominative appears to be simply joined with the verb on which the accusative with the infinitive depends: Hist. ii. 82, *sufficere videbantur adversus Vitellium pars copiarum et dux Mucianus et Vespasiani nomen ac nihil arduum fatis* (τὸ nihil arduum esse); Annal. i. 73, *deorum injurias dis curae.* But even the indicative and subjunctive moods of this verb are omitted oftener than in former writers; and the indicative chiefly in those passages which express the more vehement emotions of the mind: Annal. ii. 82, *at Romae, postquam Germanici valetudo percrebruit — dolor, ira;* Hist. ii. 29, *ut vero deformis et flens et praeter spem incolumis Valens processit, gaudium, miseratio, favor;* iv. 46, *ut vero huc illuc distrahi coepere, metus per omnes et praecipua Germanici militis formido.*—Annal. i. 65, *cum — apud Romanos invalidi ignes, interruptae voces* (essent), *atque ipsi passim adjacerent vallo.*

β. POSSE, FACERE, AGERE, VERERI, VENIRE, IRE, SE CONFERRE, are omitted: as, Annal. xiii. 41, *Artaxata — solo aequata sunt, quia nec teneri* (poterant), *sine valido praesidio — nec id nobis virium erat,* &c.; Agr. 19, *nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei* (actum); Annal. i. 47, *quos igitur anteferret? ac* (verendum) *ne postpositi contumelia incenderentur;* xiv. 8, *anxia Agrippina quod nemo a filio* (veniret) *ac ne Agerinus quidem* (rediret).

γ. Very often VERBS OF SENSE AND SPEECH are omitted: as, Agr. 33, *excepere orationem—alacres; jamque agmina et armorum fulgores audentissimi cujusque*

procursu (conspiciebantur); Annal. i. 7, *vultuque composito, ne laeti* (vidérentur) *excessu principis neu tristiores primordio, lacrimas, gaudium — miscebant;* chap. 31, *non unus haec (dicebat) — sed multa seditionis ora vocesque.*

c. PARTICLES are omitted by no other writer more frequently: Annal. xiv. 8, *respicit Anicetum* (a) *trierarcho — comitatum;* iii. 19, *is finis fuit* (in) *ulciscenda Germanici morte;* i. 12, (ex) *vultu offensionem conjectaverat;* xiv. 40, *tabulas* (cum) *iis quos memoravi et aliis minus inlustribus obsignat;* Agr. 35, *ne simul in frontem, simul et* (in) *latera suorum pugnaretur;* Annal. iii. 30, (incertum est) *fato potentiae raro sempiternae, an* (quia) *satias capit,* &c. So *quod, cum* (followed by *tum*), *licet, magis, tantum, tanto, eo, potius, alii, hinc, primum, modo, aliquando, ut, ita, tamen, sed,* are omitted in many places. Whole sentences are omitted before the particles *nam* and *enim* (just as in the Greek writers γὰρ is used in the same way): Annal. xiv. 44, *at quidam insontes peribunt!* (and no wonder; nec mirum) *nam et ex fuso exercitu — etiam strenui sortiuntur!* chap. 14, *nam et ejus flagitium est qui,* &c. To the same head belongs the figure ASYNDETON, so much used by Tacitus: Hist. i. 3, *futurorum praesagia, laeta, tristia, ambigua, manifesta;* chap. 73, *consulari matrimonio subnixa, et apud Galbam, Othonem, Vitellium inlaesa;* Annal. iii. 26, *vetustissimi mortalium — sine probro, scelere eoque sine poena — agebant;* Hist. iv. 75, *eum, qui attulerat, ipsas epistolas ad Domitianum misit.*

VII. To this law of brevity some forms of expression appear to be opposed, which however in

reality increase the force and liveliness of the narration.

a. The figure which is called by Quintilian ANADIPLOSIS, or adjection, that is, the repetition or even more frequent reiteration of the same word (chiefly of particles) with a certain force. This is generally so managed that the repetition answers the purpose of an omitted copulative conjunction, only that it has greater power: Annal. i. 7, *miles in forum, miles in curiam comitabatur;* Hist. i. 50, *mansisse Caio Julio, mansisse Caesare Augusto victore imperium;* Annal. ii. 82. *statim credita, statim vulgata sunt;* Dial. 40, *apud quos omnia populus, omnia imperiti, omnia (ut sic dixerim) omnes poterant; nostra quoque civitas, donec erravit, donec se — confecit, donec nulla fuit in foro pax, nulla — concordia, nulla — moderatio, nulla — reverentia, nullus — modus, tulit,* &c. This passage is a clear proof that it was chiefly as an orator that Tacitus used this mode of expression, as there are very many examples of it in Cicero and Quintilian, but few in the historical writers, if you except Livy, who affects the style of an orator.

b. Words which are commonly called SYNONYMOUS, but which in truth are of such a nature that the one augments, explains, and amplifies with a new sense the signification of the other. Generally substantives, of which Tacitus is very fond, are constructed in this manner: *seditio et turbae, fulgor et claritudo, dolor et ira, odium et invidia, modestia et pudor, sanguis et caedes, vires et robur: veteres et senes, antiqui ac veteres,* do not so much belong to this head, as they do not express the same things. Of adjectives, adverbs, and verbs so used, the number is less. The following are examples: *incer-*

tum et ambiguum, immotum fixumque, turbide et seditiose, temere ac fortuito, occultare et abdere, pollui foedarique.

c. The figure called in Greek ἓν διὰ δυοῖν, of which we have an example in the well-known passage, *pateris libamus et auro.* But the examples of this figure which are found in Tacitus (and they are very many) prove that there is a greater power in substantives and adjectives constructed after this manner, than in the usual form of speech: Agr. 16, *nec ullum in barbaris saevitiae genus omisit ira et victoria* (this has greater force than *ira victoris;* it is anger and the licence of victory, rather than of the conquerors); Germ. 33, *super sexaginta milia — oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt* (not simply *oblectationi oculorum,* but for our entertainment and the mere pleasure of the spectacle). The copulative conjunction often serves for an explanation: Annal. i. 40, *incedebat muliebre et miserabile agmen* (not *miserabile mulierum agmen,* but a troop consisting of women, and for that reason chiefly miserable).

d. As to the examples of Pleonasm, they proceeded less from the genius of Tacitus than from the common usage of the Latin language, nor do they detract in any measure from the brevity of the discourse; since none of the old writers has given offence by thus, as it were, expressing things abundantly. But there are also many among these passages of such a kind that the one word adds something to the meaning of the other. Thus, *mare Oceanum* is spoken of just as *Rhenus amnis; corpus* in all writers (contrary to the usage of our language) is used plèonastically in such passages, *corporis morbus,*

corporum verbera, libera corpora (liberi homines): *ante praevidere, ante praedicere* are also used in the older writers; *ipse solus,* Germ. 38, and Dial. 5, and *solus et unus,* Dial. 34, are explained by referring to the Greek *αὐτὸς μόνος*, and also to that passage of Cicero, Verr. i. 2 (*quod ipsis solis satis esset*).

ON THE POETICAL COMPLEXION OF THE STYLE OF TACITUS.

THAT there was among the Greeks in the most ancient times a great resemblance between the poets and the historical writers, is sufficiently proved by that well-known comparison in which we are wont to speak of Homer, the father of epic poetry, as an author resembling Herodotus, while we call the latter the Homer of history. Among the Romans the plan of composing history was different; for, having at first attended only to the registering of annals, and having thus been accustomed to set more value on the facts themselves, than on the expression of the feelings which move the mind in narrating and judging of the several events, when afterwards they were led on, chiefly by the example of the Greeks, to aspire to more perfect skill in the art of writing history also, they then sought more after the ornaments of rhetoric than of poetry. And thus indeed you would justly mention Titus Livius as the most perfect model among all the Roman historians, and as the author who chiefly establishes the ability of the Romans for that species of composition, and above all as far excelling those writers who, like Lucan, Silius, and others, by doing little more than narrating events in stiff language, lessened the gravity of epic verse and hurt the dignity of history, while they in vain affected poetical language in order to ornament their records of bare facts. Tacitus alone among all these writers is worthy to be com-

pared with those Greeks; because he sought not poetical ornaments from without, but was strong in the power of his own genius, and in the innate poetical sublimity of his mind. And as Herodotus presents to us the likeness of the epic, so does our author chiefly that of the lyric and dramatic muse, by arranging every event he records after the manner of a tragic poet, and in all things expressing the impulses of his own mind, nay even the inmost feelings of his soul. When, as we read his annals and histories, we see the efforts made by men worthy of a better age against the cruelty of princes and the common corruption of manners falling fruitless to the ground, but yet perceive at the same time that there can be good and brave men even under evil rulers; when we behold fortune, fate, nay the gods themselves, ruling in a wonderful and ever inscrutable manner the divers chances of human events; as we contemplate in his books of annals the fatal extinction of the Julian race, and in his histories the mighty efforts to establish anew an empire already desolate and falling; do we not seem to ourselves to be reading some tragic composition, such as those of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides? is not the mournful image of a Niobe presented before our eyes? are not our souls pervaded with a kind of horror as at the sight of a Laocoon attempting in vain to burst the frightful knots of serpents? Surely it is a design worthy of the dignity of the Roman empire, to expend all the resources of so profound a skill, in setting forth what was the fate and what the chances of events, through which the power of a "people now for a long time most mighty, destroyed itself," what were the vices both of citizens and rulers, which provoked the vengeance

and punishment of the immortal gods, so that that mighty imperial structure began to fall to ruin. Behold a second Scipio, not sitting among the ruins of proud Carthage when she had just fulfilled her destiny, but on the soil of Rome herself, even now sinking to destruction, and prophesying with gushing tears the ruin of his country! See him meditating, not with a factitious and far-fetched effort, but under aspects which to such a mind present themselves spontaneously, upon the image of his country, before so excellent and so perfect in all its parts, now distorted and ruined! And we see that he practised no less art than Sophocles used in his divine tragedies, in arranging every several part, and assigning its own place to each. After prefixing, both to the histories and to the books of annals, a prologue, in which not only the argument of the whole work, but its entire plan and character, are briefly shadowed forth, he then leads the minds of his readers, now with a quickened, and now with a slackened and restrained pace, through all the stages of the action, which are meted out in a manner fit and suitable to the things themselves and to the laws of art; and he so depicts the natures and characters of men, and of the actions performed by them, he so pourtrays real life, even in its most varied and troubled forms,—whether he writes of battles and the storming of cities, or whether of things done in the palaces of princes, and the houses of private men,—that all these things we seem to behold with our own eyes, and to be present at them ourselves. But these are matters of such a kind that their nature can be less easily described than conceived in the mind itself. We shall proceed to illustrate by examples those points alone which belong to the poetical form of the language itself.

I. Among these examples, the COLLOCATION OF THE WORDS themselves first claims our attention. For in some passages in Tacitus, either whole or half verses are found: Annal. i. 1, *Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere;* xv. 73, *donec consensu patrum deterritus est, ne;* Germ. 18, *bellorum casus putet, ipsis incipientis;* chap. 32. *praecellunt; nec major apud Cattos peditum laus;* chap. 39, *auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram.* But Cicero has already observed that verses often fall also from the pens of writers through carelessness, of which there are examples in Livy and many other authors: Livy moreover, as well as Tacitus, begins the preface to his books of histories with an hexametrical exordium. And indeed this circumstance, especially when two principal writers agree in it, I cannot believe to have fallen out at a venture; but, in the case of Tacitus especially, to whose language gravity (*σεμνόν*) is said peculiarly to belong, I should suppose, not indeed that he took pains to frame a verse in the very outset of his work, but that he retained one which had spontaneously offered itself to his mind.

II. SINGLE WORDS are used poetically.

a. Words in themselves poetical and belonging to a former age: *desolatus, eburnus, exspes, fatiscere, grandaevus, mersare, praesagus, secundare,* &c. And of a later age: *adcursus* (us), *distinctus* (us), *honorus.* Simple verbs used for compounds: *asperare, celerare, cire, flere* (aliquid), *gravescere, jutus, propinquare, radere, solari, suescere, temnere,* of a later age *flammare.*

b. Words poetical in their signification (chiefly those so used by metonyme): *cura* de libro, *demissus* = ori-

ginem trahens, *fides, fiducia* applied to a man who inspires confidence (Hist. ii. 4, 5. *Titus — ingens rerum fiducia accessit* et *praecipua concordiae fides Titus*), *flagitium* = efflagitatio, *puerperium* = partus, *sinister* = malus, *species* = acies oculorum*), *triste* used as a substantive; in the poets of the later age: *annus* = proventus anni, *transigere* = transfigere, *transmittere* = transire silentio.—Abstract terms are used for concrete much oftener than in other prose writers: *auxilia, vigiliae, militia* (= milites, Hist. iii. 18, *quos militiae legionariis — aequabant;* compare Plin. Hist. Nat. iv. 27, *Glessaria a succino militiae*—by the soldiers, militibus nostris—*appellata, a barbaris Austraria*), *delectus (in civitates remittere,* Hist. iv. 71), *matrimonia, conjugium, necessitudines, adfinitates, amicitiae, dominationes, nobilitates, remigium, clientelae, servitium, exsilium* (Hist. i. 2, *plenum exsiliis mare), antiquitas, consultationes, mors, ingenia (pavida, servilia).*—Substantives are put for adjectives *spectator populus, domus regnatrix, corruptor animus, victor exercitus, bellator equus* (according to the Greek form of expression).—Adjectives are also used in the place of substantives, see III. b.

III. Poetical Structure of the Words: Graecisms† (some words have also a Greek form: Dial. 31,

* Annal. xi. 31 *sive ceperat ea* (tempestatem; but Tacitus appears to have written *ea* designedly to express a less conspicuous object; anything of the kind) *species* (ejus). Compare Liv. xxxvii. 24, *spectaculum capessite oculis.* So Lucret. iv. 242, *speciem quo vertimus,* and oftener; Vitruv. ix. 4, *si tantis intervallis nostra species potest id animadvertere,* and in other places.

† But many also of the peculiarities explained above, may be considered as borrowed from the Greek language.

grammatice, musice, et geometrice. But Tacitus has never followed the practice of his age, in mixing words belonging to the Greek tongue with Latin words).

a. In the use of the Cases. Concerning the ellipsis in the use of the Genitive see On the Brevity &c. VI. a.: *Apicata Sejani* (uxor), as the Greeks say Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου; *Piraeeus Atticae orae* (portus), as εἰς τὴν Φιλίππου sc. χώραν. — Annal. xv. 14, *adjecisse deos (dignum Arsacidarum) ut simul*, &c. ἄξιον τῶν Ἀρσ. Compare Cic. Balb. 2, *mihi quidem dignum rei videtur.* — Concerning the peculiar use of the partitive genitive (*οἱ φρόνιμοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων*), see On the Brevity &c. III. b.—The genitive is nowhere found more frequently than in Tacitus joined to relative adjectives and participles (as *ἄπαις ἀῤῥένων παίδων*), and the same may be said of the Accusative, where it is used to apply or restrict the discourse to any object (*πόδας ὠκύς, πάντα εὐδαιμονεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα*). A few examples will suffice: *ingens animi, diversus animi, fallax amicitiae, vetus operis ac laboris, morum non spernendus, praecipuus circumveniendi, primus luendae poenae, anxius potentiae, virtutum sterilis, insolens obsequii, manifestus delicti, ferox linguae, atrox odii; — contectus humeros, nudus brachia, adlevari animum, cetera degener, cetera egregius.* — The Dative is put for the genitive after the manner of the poets: Hist. iii. 5, *Raetia, cui Porcius procurator erat;* Annal. xiii. 23, *cui* (cujus) *per nuptias Antoniae gener erat* (Cic. *Demochares, — qui fuit Demostheni sororis filius*); Annal. i. 3, *Augustus subsidia dominationi, — Marcellum — Agrippam — extulit;* ii. 64, *immittere latronum globos, exscindere castella, causas bello;* chap. 46, *missus tamen Drusus — paci firmator;* iii. 14, *vario*

rumore, custos saluti an mortis exactor sequeretur. For a preposition: Annal. xi. 37, *florenti filiae haud concors;* Hist. iv. 52, *Domitiano mitigatus*, i. e. mitigatus in Domitiani animo. There is a brevity (*βραχυλογία*) in the use of the dative of the participle: Annal. xiv. 49, *optimum quemque jurgio lacessens et respondenti reticens*, that is, keeping silence if any one answered. There is a very close resemblance to this in the use of the dative absolute, borrowed by the Latins from the Greeks (thus Herodotus: *ἀληθέϊ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ*), Agric. 11; Germ. 6, *in universum aestimanti* (Curt.); Hist. iv. 17, *vere reputantibus, Galliam suismet viribus concidisse.* Compare Liv. xxvi. 24, *urbium Corcyrae tenus ab Aetolia incipienti solum tectaque—Aetolorum esse* (so Herodotus ii. 29, *ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος ἰόντι ἄναντές ἐστι χωρίον*). On the similar use of the genitive, see ON THE BREVITY &c. III. b. Annal. xiv. 61, and xi. 23.—The dative which is called subjective is used more frequently by no writer than by Tacitus with passive verbs, in place of a preposition with the ablative. In this circumstance the Greeks have a still greater variety and pliability in their language, as is clear from the fact that, besides this dative (*λέλεκταί μοι, ἐπράττετο αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς πόλεως*) they use not only the preposition *ὑπό*, but others also, *πρός, παρά, ἐκ.* Among the Latins, the poets have not unfrequently used this form of speech, as Ovid, *Barbarus hic ego sum, quia non intelligor ulli;* but Cicero too, Livy, and others use it. So Tacitus, Annal. i. 1, *veteris populi Romani prospera vel adversa claris scriptoribus memorata sunt;* iv. 6, *frumenta,—cetera publicorum fructuum societatibus equitum Romanorum agitabantur;* xi. 29, *Callistus jam mihi circa necem Caii Caesaris narratus.*—Con-

cerning the accusative, see above, On the Brevity &c. III. d.

b. In the use of Adjectives.*

α. In the place of Substantives are put neuter adjectives, mostly joined with the genitive (the singular of the adjective being used less often than the plural), as well by Livy and other writers as by the poets and Tacitus; (*τὰ καλά, τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, τὸ τετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων, τὸ πολλὸν τῆς στρατιῆς, ἄσημα βοῆς*, i. e. *ἄσημος βοὴ, τῶν βοῶν κατακεκρημνισμένα*). Annal. i. 1, *populi Romani prospera vel adversa;* iii. 40, *per conciliabula et coetus seditiosa disserebant;* xiv. 15, *quin et feminae inlustres informia meditari.*—Annal. iii. 59, *diverso terrarum distineri;* ii. 39, *adire municipia obscuro diei.* —Annal. iv. 23, *incerta belli metuens*, as *ambigua, dubia, fortuita, intuta, certa, avia, inaccessa, angusta, ardua, lubrica, edita, obstantia, opportuna, amoena, plana, subjecta, aperta, profunda, secreta, adversa, saeva, subita, occulta, operta, idonea, vana, inania, falsa, tacita, longinqua, prima, extrema, summa, praecipua, reliqua, cetera, alia, pauca, multa,* are found in Tacitus joined with the genitive plural.

β. Adjectives are very often used by him, as well as by the poets, after the manner of the Greeks (*αἰνά* pro *αἰνῶς, εὗδον παννύχιοι*, i. e. *νυκτί, δευτεραῖος ἀφίκετο*, i. e. *δευτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ*), for Adverbs, when greater power is thereby given to the discourse: Annal. iv. 12, *domum Germanici revirescere occulti laetabantur;* xii. 12, *si citi advenissent;* v. 1, *aufert marito* (Liviam)—*adeo pro-*

* Many points also in the mode of comparison which are borrowed from the Greek language, have been noticed above. (See On the Variety &c. V. d.)

perus, ut, &c.; Agric. 19, *a se suisque orsus primam domum suam coercuit;* Annal. iii. 52, *adversum luxum, qui inmensum proruperat;* iv. 60, *Tiberius torvus aut falsum renidens vultu;* chap. 28. *innocentem Cornutum et falsa exterritum.*

γ. THE USE OF THE PREPOSITION EX FOR ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS is very common in Tacitus. This mode of expression the poets have generally used after the manner of the Greeks (*ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος, διὰ τάχους, ἐν τῷ φανερῷ,* and also in the plural number, which is never thus used by Latin writers, *ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν*), and some examples of this have even passed into the language of common discourse, as *ex improviso, ex inopinato, ex insperato, ex composito, ex praeparato, ex aequo, ex occulto,* in Livy, *ex tuto, ex vano, ex supervacuo;* many instances are found in the writers of the Silver Age, as *ex abundanti, ex continenti* (continuo), *ex pari, ex toto;* in Tacitus *ex honesto, ex integro, ex vano, ex facili, ex adfluenti, ex aequo* in many places. And on a like principle, *per silentium, per iram, per licentiam, in aperto, in levi, in neutrum, in mollius, in deterius.* See ON THE BREVITY &c. VII. d. at the end.

c. IN THE USE OF THE VERB. Concerning the indefinite (aoristical) use of the tenses, see ON THE BREVITY &c. III. g. i., and concerning the use of the infinitive, ibid. III. f. The infinitive is used by attraction with the nominative in place of the accusative, as in that passage of Virgil, *sensit medios delapsus in hostes;* Hist. iv. 55, *ipse e majoribus suis hostis populi Romani quam socius* (esse) *jactabat;* in like manner Herod. viii. 137, *τὸν μισθὸν ἔφασαν δίκαιοι εἶναι ἀπολαβόντες οὕτω ἐξιέναι.* On the other hand, the accusative, instead of the nomi-

native, is joined with the infinitive, after the Greek custom (ἔφη εἶναι στρατηγόν = στρατηγός): Hist. iv. 52, *Titum — orasse dicebatur;* i. 90, *Trachali ingenio Othonem uti credebatur;* Germ. 33, *Angrivarios immigrasse narratur.* Very seldom *dicitur,* more frequently in Livy *creditur, proditur, traditur, fertur, nuntiatur,* are found thus used. — The infinitive supplies the place of the substantive and gerund, after the usage of the Greeks, which has been received by the poets, and in a few examples also by the writers of the former age.

α. For the nominative: Annal. xv. 20, *culpa quam poena tempore prior, emendari quam peccare posterius est;* Hist. ii. 82, *sufficere videbantur adversus Vitellium pars copiarum et dux Mucianus et Vespasiani nomen ac nihil arduum* (esse) *fatis.*

β. For the genitive and sometimes for the ablative: Annal. vi. 12, *dato sacerdotibus negotio—vera discernere;* Dial. 3, *etiamsi non novum tibi ipse negotium importasses — adgregare* (Caes. B. G. vii. 71, *consilium — dimittere);* Agric. 8, *peritus* (τοῦ) *obsequi eruditusque* (τῷ) *utilia honestis miscere;* Annal. iv. 52, *modicus dignationis et quoquo facinore properus clarescere* (a case without example, even in the poets); Annal. ii. 57, *atrox ac dissentire manifestus;* Agric. 25, *paratu magno, majore fama, uti mos est de ignotis, "oppugnasse ultro," castella adorti.* Compare Livy iv. 31, *civitas vinci insueta,* πόλις χαλεπὴ λαβεῖν, ἐπιτήδειος ποιεῖν, διαφέρειν τῷ τιμῆς ὀρέγεσθαι.

γ. For the accusative, and sometimes for the dative, and for the former chiefly when a substantive in the same case goes before: Annal. xiii. 15, *quia nullum crimen neque jubere caedem fratris palam audebat* (compare Cic. Tusc.

i. 26, *ut Jovi bibere ministraret)*; Annal. iv. 56, *factus natura et consuetudine exercitus* (τῷ) *velare odium fallacibus blanditiis*; Dial. 10, *tamquam minus obnoxium sit* (τῷ) *offendere poetarum quam oratorum studium.* Compare Xen. Apol. Socr. 14, ἵνα ἔτι μᾶλλον — ἀπιστῶσι τῷ ἐμὲ τετιμῆσθαι ὑπὸ δαιμόνων. See above, ON THE BREVITY &c. III. f. — There is another Graecism in those cases where the particle (ὥστε, so as) is implied in the infinitive: Annal. xi. 1, *non extimuisse contionem populi Romani, fateri, gloriamque facinoris ultro petere*; xii. 50, *atrox hiems, seu parum provisi commeatus et orta ex utroque tabes percellunt Vologesen omittere praesentia.* Compare Thucydides iii. 6, τῆς μὲν θαλάσσης εἶργον, μὴ χρῆσθαι, Μυτιληναίους.

THE SUBJUNCTIVE, after the manner of the Greek optative, is used both by other writers and by Tacitus to imply that a thing has been done frequently: Annal. i. 27, *postremo deserunt tribunal, ut quis — occurreret, manus intentantes*; chap. 44, *si tribuni, si legio industriam — adprobaverant, retinebat ordines: ubi avaritiam aut crudelitatem consensu objectavissent, solvebatur militia* (οὓς μὲν ἴδοι εὐτάκτως — ἰόντας — ἐπῄνει). — Concerning the use of the PARTICIPLE, compare ON THE BREVITY &c. III. i. Evidently after the Greek fashion, which is adopted also by Sallust, we read in Tacitus *invito, cupienti, volenti mihi est*, for *nolo, cupio, volo*: Annal. i. 59, *ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat*, ἀχθομένοις ἢ ἡδομένοις ἦν; Agric. 18, *ut quibus bellum volentibus erat.* We may find an explanation of this in the passages in which *volens* has the same sense as *gratum* (just as *gnarus* is used for *notus*): Hist. iii. 52, *Muciano volentia rescripsere* (Sallust, *volentia*

plebi facturus videbatur); and Annal. ii. 4, *Ariobarzanem — volentibus Armeniis praefecit* (compare Soph. Oed. Col. 1505, *ποθοῦντι προυφάνης*); Sall. Jug. 76, *poenas ipsi volentes pependere.* Add lastly the following phrases, which are actually translated from the Greek, and which are common in the poets, Sallust, Livy, and others, namely, *est* for *licet*, and *amare* for *solere*: Germ. 5, *est videre apud illos argentea vasa*; Annal. iv. 9, *ut ferme amat posterior adulatio*; *ἔστι*, *φιλεῖ*.

d. In the Use of Particles.

α. *Vereor* is omitted before the particle *ne* (see above, on the ellipsis of verbs), as in Greek authors we have *μὴ τοῦτο ἄλλως ἔχῃ*. The particle *cum* is often wanting (as in Ovid): Annal. iii. 64, *quindecimviri septemviris simul*; iv. 55, *Hypaepeni Trallianique Laodicenis ac Magnetibus simul*; vi. 9, *Appius Silanus Scauro Mamerco simul.* Compare Hom. Od. iv. 723, *ὅσσαι μοι ὁμοῦ τράφεν ἠδ' ἐγένοντο.*

β. Annal. xvi. 9, *donec a centurione — tamquam in pugna caderet* (so Suetonius, Otho, 5, *ab hoste cadere*; Nepos de regibus iii. 3, *periit a morbo*) — *θανεῖν ὑπό τινος*. Annal. ii. 47, *Magnetes a Sipylo*, as on coins we read Μαγνησία ἀπὸ Σιπύλου. Compare Liv. i. 50, *Turnus Herdonius ab Aricia* (Aricinus) *ferociter in absentem Tarquinium erat invectus.*

γ. The preposition *in* is often used to give greater force where, from the common form of speech, you would expect *ad*, or simply a case of the noun, or some other construction: *in id*, *in hoc*, *εἰς τοῦτο* (Livy, Velleius, and the poets); *in majus celebrare* (Livy and Sallust), and the like phrases, *ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον κοσμεῖν*, *in unum consulere*, *εἰς μίαν βουλεύειν*, *in unum cedere*, *εἰς ἕν*,

ἔρχεσθαι (Livy, Sallust), *in longum, in presens,* εἰς ὥρας, εἰς τὸ παρόν (Livy, Sallust, Cicero), *in tantum, in vulgus, in cetera, in diversum;* Annal. xii. 35, *plus vulnerum in nos et pleraeque caedes oriebantur;* ii. 47, *asperrima in Sardianos lues;* chap. 39. *forma haud dissimili in dominum erat,* as the Greeks say, εἰς πάντα, εἰς ἀγαθὸν εἰπεῖν, ἐς φόβον, εἰς ὦπα ἔοικεν. Annal. iv. 25, *aderant semisomnos in barbaros* (see above, ON THE BREVITY &c. V. a. under syllepsis), as ἐς θρόνους ἕζοντο, ἐφάνη λῖς εἰς ὁδόν.

δ. We find answering to the Greek phrases, οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι, ἡ ἐξαίφνης μετάστασις, Agric. 25, *universae ultra gentes;* Annal. xiii. 41, *cuncta extra, tectis tenus, sole inlustria fuere* (compare Liv. xxiii. 27, *omni circa agro potiuntur*); Annal i. 27, *is ante alios aetate et gloria belli* (excelling others); Hist. ii. 76, *tua ante omnes experientia;* v. 12, *propriique muri labore et opere ante alios.*

ε. Adverbs are joined with the substantive verbs, instead of adjectives: *longe, velocius, frustra, impune est,* as in Greek authors we have δὴν, ἑκαστάτω εἶναι; and *bene, male, recte est,* are the common forms of expression in speaking of the state of a person's health.

IV. THE FORM OF EXPRESSION ITSELF IS POETICAL, as *equestris procella, aliquid ultra mortale gaudium accipere, arbiter rerum, dira quies, in limine belli, conjux sex partus enixa, trucidati sunt sine nostro sanguine, sera juvenum Venus, marcentem pacem nutrire, vita populi Romani per incerta maris et tempestatum quotidie volvitur.* This poetical language consists generally in the following particulars:—

a. Inanimate Objects are spoken of as having life, whence he not only speaks thus of animals: Germ. 9, *ne armentis quidem suus honor aut gloria frontis*, but also still more boldly, Annal. i. 79, *quin ipsum Tiberim nolle prorsus accolis fluviis orbatum minore gloria fluere;* xv. 15, *flumen — vi equorum perrupere* (as if it were a hostile army); Germ. 40, *est in insula Oceani castum nemus;* Hist. v. 6, *praecipuum montium Libanum erigit* (Judaea), *mirum dictu tantos inter ardores opacum fidumque nivibus; idem amnem Jordanen fundit alitque;* Germ. 27, *sepulcrum caespes erigit;* Annal. xv. 62, *lacrimas eorum modo sermone, modo intentior in modum coercentis ad firmitudinem revocat;* Hist. i. 17, *circumsteterat interim palatium publica exspectatio magni secreti impatiens;* chap. 2, *opus adgredior opimum casibus, atrox proeliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace saevum;* Annal. i. 31, *multa seditionis ora vocesque;* chap. 61, *incedunt moestos locos*, at the end: *ubi infelici dextra — mortem invenerit.*

b. The Prosopopoeia of Time is very frequent: Annal. vi. 51, *morum quoque tempora illi diversa: egregium vita famaque* (tempus), *quoad privatus — fuit; occultum ac subdolum fingendis virtutibus, donec Germanicus ac Drusus superfuere; idem inter bona malaque mixtus*, &c., whence it is clear that in these things also variety has been aimed at; Germ. 30, *disponere diem, vallare noctem;* Hist. i. 80, *obsequia meliorum nox abstulerat;* Annal. xiii. 17, *nox eadem necem Britannici et rogum conjunxit;* chap. 33, *idem annus plures reos habuit;* iv. 15. *idem annus alio quoque luctu Caesarem adficit alterum ex geminis Drusi liberis extinguendo;* i. 54, *idem annus novas caerimonias accepit addito soda-*

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lium Augustalium sacerdotio; Agric. 22, *tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit;* Hist. v. 10, *proximus annus civili bello intentus;* Annal. iv. 31, *quem vidit sequens aetas praepotentem, venalem;* xv. 38, *fessa aut rudis pueritiae aetas;* xiv. 33, *si quos imbellis sexus aut fessa aetas — attinuerat.* Livy has not unfrequently used this form of expression, as well as Velleius, Pliny the elder, Silius, and others; compare Cicero, Brut. 92, *interim me quaestorem Siciliensis excepit annus.*

c. TO THE NAMES OF NATIONS AND OF MEN ARE POETICALLY JOINED VERBS, WHICH PROPERLY REFER TO THE APPELLATIVE TO WHICH THOSE NAMES SHOULD HAVE BEEN ADDED IN THE GENITIVE, or certainly verbs are made to refer to men which, in their common use, are only joined to appellatives and abstract nouns: Annal. ii. 25, *ipse majoribus copiis Marsos inrumpit;* chap. 56, *Cappadoces in formam provinciae redacti Quintum Veranium legatum accepere;* xii. 58, *tributum Apamensibus terrae motu convolsis—remissum;* —Agric. 22, *vastatis usque ad Taum — nationibus;* Hist. ii. 87, *nec coloniae modo aut municipia congestu copiarum, sed ipsi cultores arvaque, maturis jam frugibus, ut hostile solum vastabantur;* Annal. ii. 25, *populatur, exscindit non ausum congredi hostem;* xii. 49, *dum socios magis quam hostes praedatur;* xvi. 13, *in qua* (urbe) *omne mortalium genus vis pestilentiae depopulabatur;* Agr. 41, *tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti* (where Walch, comparing the expression to Thucydides's use of ἐκπολιορκεῖν, quotes Justin. iii. 4. 11, *expugnatis veteribus incolis;* Lucret. iv. 1008, *reges expugnare;* Liv. xxiii. 30, *obsessos fame expugnavit;* to which add, Curt.

iii. 1. 7, *se scire inexpugnabiles esse;* ix. 10. 7, *tria simul agmina populabantur Indos — maritimos Ptolemaeus, ceteros ipse rex et ab alia parte Leonnatus urebant;* Liv. xxviii. 5, *finitimos depopulabantur;* Epit. 47, *Illyrios — vastaverant).* — Annal. xii. 25, *se quoque accingeret juvene partem curarum capessituro;* iii. 63, *Milesios Dareo rege niti;* iv. 19, *hos corripi, dilato ad tempus Sabino, placitum;* Hist. ii. 71, *Valerium Marinum destinatum a Galba consulem distulit;* chap. 95, *magna et misera civitas, eodem anno Othonem Vitelliumque passa;* iv. 52, *amicos tempore, fortuna — imminui, transferri, desinere* (that is, their attentions, their very friendship); Annal. iv. 42, *Merulam — albo senatorio erasit;* vi. 42, *civitas — conditoris Seleuci retinens* (that is, of his institutions). Compare Quintil. viii. 6. 25, *hominem devorari* (that is, his goods), Plinius, Hist. Nat. vi. 24, *regi — percontanti postea narravit Romanos et Caesarem;* vii. 2, *supra hos extrema in parte montium Trispithami Pygmaeique narrantur.* And in the same way the older writers also use *loqui, narrare.*

CORNELII TACITI

GERMANIA.

CORNELII TACITI

DE SITU, MORIBUS, POPULISQUE

GERMANIAE LIBELLUS

Germania omnis a Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis Rheno et Danubio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separatur. Cetera oceanus ambit, latos sinus et insularum inmensa spatia complectens, nuper cognitis quibusdam gentibus ac regibus, quos bellum aperuit. Rhenus Raeticarum Alpium inaccesso ac praecipiti vertice ortus, modico flexu in Occidentem versus septentrionali oceano miscetur. Danubius molli et clementer edito montis Abnobae jugo effusus plures populos adit, donec in Ponticum mare sex meatibus erumpit. Septimum enim os paludibus hauritur.

II. Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim, minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mixtos, quia nec terra olim sed classibus advehebantur qui mutare sedes quaerebant: et inmensus ultra utque sic dixerim adversus oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur. Quis porro, praeter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia aut Africa aut Italia relicta, Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam caelo, tristem cultu adspectuque, nisi si patria sit? Celebrant carminibus antiquis

(quod unum apud illos memoriae et annalium genus est) *Tuisconem Deum terra editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoresque. Manno tris filios* adsignant, *e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingaevones, medii Hermiones, ceteri Istaevones vocentur.* Quidam autem, licentia vetustatis, *plures Deo ortos pluresque gentis adpellationes, Marsos, Gambrivios, Suevos, Vandalios* adfirmant: *eaque vera et antiqua nomina. Ceterum Germaniae vocabulum recens et nuper additum; quoniam qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint ac nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sint. Ita nationis nomen non gentis evaluisse paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ob metum, mox a se ipsis invento nomine* Germani *vocarentur.*

III. *Fuisse apud eos et Herculem* memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in proelia canunt. Sunt illis haec quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem *barritum* vocant, accendunt animos, futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu augurantur: terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit acies; nec tam vocis ille, quam virtutis concentus videtur. Adfectatur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur, objectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat. Ceterum *et Ulixem,* quidam opinantur, *longo illo et fabuloso errore in hunc oceanum delatum, adisse Germaniae terras, Asciburgiumque, quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, ab illo constitutum nominatumque. Aram quin etiam Ulixi consecratam, adjecto Laertae patris nomine, eodem loco olim repertam, monumentaque et tumulos quosdam, Graecis litteris inscriptos, in confinio Germaniae Raetiaeque adhuc exstare.* Quae neque

confirmare argumentis, neque refellere in animo est: ex ingenio suo quisque demat, vel addat fidem.

IV. Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui, *Germaniae populos nullis [aliis] aliarum nationum connubiis infectos, propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem exstitisse,* arbitrantur. Unde habitus quoque corporum, quanquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus, truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora et tantum ad inpetum valida. Laboris atque operum non eadem patientia: minimeque sitim aestumque tolerare, frigora atque inediam caelo solove adsueverunt.

V. Terra, etsi aliquanto specie differt, in universum tamen aut silvis horrida, aut paludibus foeda: humidior, qua Gallias, ventosior, qua Noricum ac Pannoniam adspicit: satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum inpatiens, pecorum foecunda, sed plerumque inprocera. Ne armentis quidem suus honor aut gloria frontis. Numero gaudent, eaeque solae et gratissimae opes sunt. Argentum et aurum propitii an irati dii negaverint dubito. Nec tamen adfirmaverim, nullam Germaniae venam argentum aurumve gignere. Quis enim scrutatus est? possessione et usu haud perinde adficiuntur. Est videre apud illos argentea vasa, legatis et principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate, quam quae humo finguntur: quamquam proximi ob usum commerciorum aurum et argentum in pretio habent, formasque quasdam nostrae pecuniae agnoscunt atque eligunt: interiores simplicius et antiquius permutatione mercium utuntur. Pecuniam probant veterem et diu notam, serratos, bigatosque. Argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur, nulla

adfectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilior usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus.

VI. Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum conligitur. Rari gladiis, aut majoribus lanceis utuntur. Hastas, vel ipsorum vocabulo *frameas*, gerunt, angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri et ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel cominus vel eminus pugnent. Et eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus est: pedites et missilia spargunt, plura singuli, atque in inmensum vibrant, nudi aut sagulo leves. Nulla cultus jactatio: scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus distinguunt: paucis loricae, vix uni alterive cassis, aut galea. Equi non forma, non velocitate conspicui. Sed nec variare gyros in morem nostrum docentur. In rectum aut uno flexu dextros agunt, ita conjuncto orbe ut nemo posterior sit. In universum aestimanti, plus penes peditem roboris: eoque mixti proeliantur, apta et congruente ad equestrem pugnam velocitate peditum, quos ex omni juventute delectos, ante aciem locant. Definitur et numurus: *centeni* ex singulis pagis sunt; idque ipsum inter suos vocantur, et quod primo numerus fuit, jam nomen et honor est. Acies per cuneos componitur. Cedere loco, dummodo rursus instes, consilii quam formidinis arbitrantur. Corpora suorum etiam in dubiis proeliis referunt. Scutum reliquisse, praecipuum flagitium; nec aut sacris adesse aut concilium inire, ignominioso fas; multique superstites bellorum infamiam laqueo finierunt.

VII. Reges ex nobilitate; duces ex virtute sumunt. Nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas: et duces exemplo potius, quam imperio, si prompti, si conspicui, si

ante aciem agant, admiratione praesunt. Ceterum neque animadvertere neque vincire, ne verberare quidem, nisi sacerdotibus permissum: non quasi in poenam nec ducis jussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt, effigiesque et signa quaedam detracta lucis in proelium ferunt. Quodque praecipuum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiae et propinquitates; et in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium. Hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores. Ad matres, ad conjuges vulnera ferunt: nec illae numerare, aut exigere plagas pavent; cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant.

VIII. Memoriae proditur, quasdam acies inclinatas jam et labantes a feminis restitutas, constantia precum et objectu pectorum, et monstrata cominus captivitate, quam longe inpatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent: adeo, ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum, quibus inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur. Inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant: nec aut consilia earum adspernantur, aut responsa neglegunt. Vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Veledam diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam. Sed et olim Auriniam et complures alias venerati sunt, non adulatione, nec tamquam facerent deas.

IX. Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant. Pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat: unde causa et origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum

in modum liburnae figuratum docet advectam religionem. Ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimilare, ex magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur. Lucos ac nemora consecrant; deorumque nominibus adpellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident.

X. Auspicia sortesque ut qui maxime observant. Sortium consuetudo simplex. Virgam frugiferae arbori decisam in surculos amputant, eosque, notis quibusdam discretos, super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt. Mox, si publice consulatur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse paterfamiliae, precatus deos caelumque suspiciens, ter singulos tollit, sublatos secundum inpressam ante notam interpretatur. Si prohibuerunt, nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consultatio; sin permissum, auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur. Et illud quidem etiam hic notum, avium voces volatusque interrogare: proprium gentis, equorum quoque praesagia ac monitus experiri. Publice aluntur iisdem nemoribus ac lucis candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti: quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis comitantur, hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. Nec ulli auspicio major fides, non solum apud plebem, sed apud proceres, apud sacerdotes: se enim ministros deorum, illos conscios putant. Est et alia observatio auspiciorum, qua gravium bellorum eventus explorant. Ejus gentis cum qua bellum est, captivum, quoquo modo interceptum, cum electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis, committunt. Victoria hujus vel illius pro praejudicio accipitur.

XI. De minoribus rebus principes consultant; de majoribus omnes: ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes pertractentur. Coeunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum inciderit, certis diebus, cum aut incohatur luna, aut inpletur: nam agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium credunt. Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant. Sic constituunt, sic condicunt; nox ducere diem videtur. Illud ex libertate vitium, quod non simul nec ut jussi conveniunt, sed et alter et tertius dies cunctatione coeuntium absumitur. Ut turbae placuit, considunt armati. Silentium per sacerdotes, quibus tum et coercendi jus est, imperatur. Mox rex vel princeps, prout aetas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur, auctoritate suadendi magis quam jubendi potestate. Si displicuit sententia, fremitu adspernantur; sin placuit, frameas concutiunt. Honoratissimum adsensus genus est, armis laudare.

XII. Licet apud consilium adcusare quoque et discrimen capitis intendere. Distinctio poenarum ex delicto. Proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt: ignavos et inbelles et corpore infames coeno ac palude, injecta insuper crate, mergunt. Diversitas subplicii illuc respicit, tamquam scelera ostendi oporteat, dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi. Sed et levioribus delictis pro modo poena. Equorum pecorumque numero convicti multantur. Pars multae regi vel civitati, pars ipsi qui vindicatur vel propinquis ejus exsolvitur. Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis et principes, qui jura per pagos vicosque

reddunt. Centeni singulis ex plebe comites, consilium simul et auctoritas, adsunt.

XIII. Nihil autem neque publicae neque privatae rei, nisi armati agunt. Sed arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris quam civitas suffecturum probaverit. Tum in ipso consilio vel principum aliquis vel pater vel propinquus scuto frameaque juvenem ornant. Haec apud illos toga, hic primus juventae honos: ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox reipublicae. Insignis nobilitas aut magna patrum merita, principis dignationem etiam adolescentulis adsignant: ceteris robustioribus ac jam pridem probatis adgregantur: nec rubor, inter comites adspici. Gradus quin etiam et ipse comitatus habet, judicio ejus, quem sectantur: magnaque et comitum aemulatio, quibus primus apud principem suum locus; et principum, cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. Haec dignitas, hae vires, magno semper electorum juvenum globo circumdari, in pace decus, in bello praesidium. Nec solum in sua gente cuique, sed apud finitimas quoque civitates id nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac virtute comitatus emineat: expetuntur enim legationibus et muneribus ornantur et ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant.

XIV. Cum ventum in aciem, turpe principi virtute vinci, turpe comitatui virtutem principis non adaequare. Jam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum, superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse. Illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriae ejus adsignare, praecipuum sacramentum est. Principes pro victoria pugnant; comites pro principe. Si civitas, in qua orti sunt, longa pace et otio torpeat; plerique nobilium adolescen-

tium petunt ultro eas nationes, quae tum bellum aliquod gerunt; quia et ingrata genti quies, et facilius inter ancipitia clarescunt, magnumque comitatum non nisi vi belloque tueare. Exigunt enim principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam. Nam epulae, et quamquam incompti, largi tamen adparatus pro stipendio cedunt. Materia munificentiae per bella et raptus. Nec arare terram, aut exspectare annum, tam facile persuaseris, quam vocare hostes et vulnera mereri. Pigrum quin immo et iners videtur, sudore adquirere, quod possis sanguine parare.

XV. Quotiens bella non ineunt, multum venatibus, plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno ciboque, fortissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque et infirmissimo cuique ex familia: ipsi hebent, mira diversitate naturae, cum iidem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem. Mos est civitatibus, ultro ac viritim conferre principibus vel armentorum vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitatibus subvenit. Gaudent praecipue finitimarum gentium donis, quae non modo a singulis sed publice mittuntur, electi equi, magna arma, phalerae, torquesque. Jam et pecuniam accipere docuimus.

XVI. Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari, satis notum est: ne pati quidem inter se junctas sedes. Colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. Vicos locant, non in nostrum morem, connexis et cohaerentibus aedificiis: suam quisque domum spatio circumdat, sive adversus casus ignis remedium, sive in-

scitia aedificandi. Ne caementorum quidem apud illos aut tegularum usus: materia ad omnia utuntur informi et citra speciem aut delectationem. Quaedam loca diligentius inlinunt terra, ita pura et splendente, ut picturam ac lineamenta colorum imitetur. Solent et subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, subfugium hiemi et receptaculum frugibus; quia rigorem frigorum ejusmodi locis molliunt: et, si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur, aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quaerenda sunt.

XVII. Tegumen omnibus sagum fibula aut, si desit, spina consertum: cetera intecti totos dies juxta focum atque ignem agunt. Locupletissimi veste distinguuntur, non fluitante, sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi, sed stricta et singulos artus exprimente. Gerunt et ferarum pelles, proximi ripae negligenter, ulteriores exquisitius, ut quibus nullus per commercia cultus. Eligunt feras et detracta velamina spargunt maculis pellibusque beluarum, quas exterior oceanus atque ignotum mare gignit. Nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminae saepius lineis amictibus velantur, eosque purpura variant, partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt, nudae brachia ac lacertos.

XVIII. Sed et proxima pars pectoris patet, quamquam severa illic matrimonia; nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris: nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine sed ob nobilitatem plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur. Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus, offert. Intersunt parentes et propinqui,

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ac munera probant, munera non ad delicias muliebres quaesita, nec quibus nova nupta comatur; sed boves et frenatum equum et scutum cum framea gladioque. In haec munera uxor adcipitur, atque invicem ipsa armorum aliquid viro adfert: hoc maximum vinculum, haec arcana sacra, hos conjugales deos arbitrantur. Ne se mulier extra virtutum cogitationes extraque bellorum casus putet, ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis admonetur, venire se laborum periculorumque sociam, idem in pace, idem in proelio passuram ausuramque: hoc juncti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma denuntiant. Sic vivendum, sic pereundum: adcipere se quae liberis inviolata ac digna reddat, quae nurus accipiant rursusque ad nepotes referant.

XIX. Ergo septae pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum inlecebris, nullis conviviorum inritationibus conruptae. Litterarum secreta viri pariter ac feminae ignorant. Paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria; quorum poena praesens, et maritis permissa. Adcisis crinibus, nudatam, coram propinquis, expellit domo maritus, ac per omnem vicum verbere agit. Publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla venia: non forma, non aetate, non opibus maritum invenerit. Nemo enim illic vitia ridet; nec conrumpere et conrumpi saeculum vocatur. Melius quidem adhuc eae civitates, in quibus tantum virgines nubunt, et cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur. Sic unum accipiunt maritum, quomodo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tamquam maritum, sed tamquam matrimonium, ament. Numerum liberorum finire, aut quemquam ex agnatis

necare, flagitium habetur: plusque ibi boni mores valent, quam alibi bonae leges.

XX. In omni domo nudi ac sordidi, in hos artus, in haec corpora, quae miramur, excrescunt. Sua quemque mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis ac nutricibus deligantur. Dominum ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas. Inter eadem pecora, in eadem humo degunt, donec aetas separet ingenuos, virtus agnoscat. Sera juvenum Venus; eoque inexhausta pubertas: nec virgines festinantur; eadem juventa, similis proceritas: pares validaeque miscentur, ac robora parentum liberi referunt. Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui apud patrem honor. Quidam sanctiorem arctioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur, et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt; tamquam ii et animum firmius et domum latius teneant. Heredes tamen successoresque sui cuique liberi; et nullum testamentum. Si liberi non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione fratres, patrui, avunculi. Quanto plus propinquorum, quo major adfinium numerus, tanto gratiosior senectus, nec ulla orbitatis pretia.

XXI. Suscipere tam inimicitias seu patris seu propinqui quam amicitias necesse est: nec inplacabiles durant. Luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero, recipitque satisfactionem universa domus, utiliter in publicum, quia periculosiores sunt inimicitiae juxta libertatem. Convictibus et hospitiis non alia gens effusius indulget. Quemcumque mortalium arcere tecto, nefas habetur: pro fortuna quisque adparatis epulis excipit. Cum defecere, qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes, proximam

domum non invitati adeunt: nec interest; pari humanitate adcipiuntur. Notum ignotumque, quantum ad jus hospitii, nemo discernit. Abeunti, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris: et poscendi invicem eadem facilitas. Gaudent muneribus: sed nec data inputant, nec acceptis obligantur. Victus inter hospites comis.

XXII. Statim e somno, quem plerumque in diem extrahunt, lavantur, saepius calida, ut apud quos plurimum hiems occupat. Lauti cibum capiunt: separatae singulis sedes et sua cuique mensa: tum ad negotia, nec minus saepe ad convivia, procedunt armati. Diem noctemque continuare potando, nulli probrum. Crebrae, ut inter vinolentos, rixae, raro conviciis, saepius caede et vulneribus transiguntur. Sed et de reconciliandis invicem inimicis et jungendis adfinitatibus et adsciscendis principibus, de pace denique ac bello, plerumque in conviviis consultant, tamquam nullo magis tempore aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus, aut ad magnas incalescat. Gens non astuta nec callida aperit adhuc secreta pectoris licentia joci. Ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens postera die retractatur, et salva utriusque temporis ratio est. Deliberant, dum fingere nesciunt: constituunt, dum errare non possunt.

XXIII. Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quamdam similitudinem vini conruptus. Proximi ripae et vinum mercantur. Cibi simplices; agrestia poma, recens fera, aut lac concretum. Sine adparatu, sine blandimentis, expellunt famem. Adversus sitim non eadem temperantia. Si indulseris ebrietati, suggerendo quantum concupiscunt, haud minus facile vitiis quam armis vincentur.

XXIV. Genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni coetu idem. Nudi juvenes, quibus id ludicrum est, inter gladios se atque infestas frameas saltu jaciunt. Exercitatio artem paravit, ars decorem, non in quaestum tamen, aut mercedem: quamvis audacis lasciviae pretium est voluptas spectantium. Aleam (quod mirere) sobrii inter seria exercent, tanta lucrandi perdendive temeritate, ut, cum omnia defecerint, extremo ac novissimo jactu de libertate et de corpore contendant. Victus voluntariam servitutem adit: quamvis juvenior, quamvis robustior, adligari se ac venire patitur. Ea est in re prava pervicacia; ipsi fidem vocant. Servos conditionis hujus per commercia tradunt, ut se quoque pudore victoriae exsolvant.

XXV. Ceteris servis, non in nostrum morem, discriptis per familiam ministeriis, utuntur. Suam quisque sedem, suos penates regit. Frumenti modum dominus, aut pecoris, aut vestis, ut colono, injungit; et servus hactenus paret. Cetera domus officia uxor ac liberi exsequuntur. Verberare servum ac vinculis et opere coercere, rarum. Occidere solent, non disciplina et severitate, sed inpetu et ira, ut inimicum, nisi quod inpune. Liberti non multum supra servos sunt, raro aliquod momentum in domo, numquam in civitate; exceptis dumtaxat iis gentibus, quae regnantur. Ibi enim et super ingenuos et super nobiles adscendunt: apud ceteros inpares libertini libertatis argumentum sunt.

XXVI. Fenus agitare et in usuras extendere ignotum: ideoque magis servatur, quam si vetitum esset. Agri pro numero cultorum ab universis in vices occu-

pantur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem partiuntur: facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia praestant. Arva per annos mutant; et superest ager: nec enim cum ubertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt, ut pomaria conserant et prata separent et hortos rigent: sola terrae seges imperatur. Unde annum quoque ipsum non in totidem digerunt species: hiems et ver et aestas intellectum ac vocabula habent: auctumni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur.

XXVII. Funerum nulla ambitio: id solum observatur, ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis crementur. Struem rogi nec vestibus, nec odoribus, cumulant: sua cuique arma, quorundam igni et equus adjicitur. Sepulcrum cespes erigit. Monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem, ut gravem defunctis, adspernantur. Lamenta ac lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde ponunt. Feminis lugere honestum est; viris meminisse. Haec in commune de omnium Germanorum origine ac moribus accepimus: nunc singularum gentium instituta ritusque, quatenus differant, quae nationes e Germania in Gallias commigraverint, expediam.

XXVIII. Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse, summus auctorum divus Julius tradit: eoque credibile est, etiam Gallos in Germaniam transgressos. Quantulum enim amnis obstabat, quo minus, ut quaeque gens evaluerat, occuparet permutaretque sedes, promiscuas adhuc et nulla regnorum potentia divisas? Igitur inter Hercyniam silvam Rhenumque et Moenum amnes Helvetii, ulteriora Boii, Gallica utraque gens, tenuere. Manet adhuc *Boiemi* nomen, significatque loci veterem memo-

riam, quamvis mutatis cultoribus. Sed utrum Aravisci in Pannoniam ab Osis, Germanorum natione, an Osi ab Araviscis in Germaniam, commigraverint, cum eodem adhuc sermone, institutis, moribus utantur, incertum est: quia, pari olim inopia ac libertate, eadem utriusque ripae bona malaque erant. Treveri et Nervii circa adfectationem Germanicae originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tamquam, per hanc gloriam sanguinis, a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur. Ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes. Ne Ubii quidem, quamquam Romana colonia esse meruerint, ac libentius *Agrippinenses* conditoris sui nomine vocentur, origine erubescunt, transgressi olim et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam conlocati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

XXIX. Omnium harum gentium virtute praecipui Batavi, non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni amnis, colunt, Cattorum quondam populus et seditione domestica in eas sedes transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent. Manet honos et antiquae societatis insigne: nam nec tributis contemnuntur, nec publicanus adterit: exempti oneribus et conlationibus, et tantum in usum proeliorum sepositi velut tela atque arma, bellis reservantur. Est in eodem obsequio et Mattiacorum gens. Protulit enim magnitudo Populi Romani ultra Rhenum, ultraque veteres terminos, imperii reverentiam. Ita sede finibusque in sua ripa, mente animoque nobiscum agunt, cetera similes Batavis, nisi quod ipso adhuc terrae suae solo et caelo acrius animantur. Non numeraverim inter Germaniae populos, quamquam trans

Rhenum Danubiumque consederint, eos, qui Decumates agros exercent. Levissimus quisque Gallorum, et inopia audax, dubiae possessionis solum occupavere. Mox limite acto promotisque praesidiis, sinus imperii et pars provinciae habentur.

XXX. Ultra hos Catti initium sedis ab Hercynio saltu inchoant, non ita effusis ac palustribus locis, ut ceterae civitates, in quas Germania patescit: durant siquidem colles, paulatimque rarescunt; et Cattos suos saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul atque deponit. Duriora genti corpora, stricti artus, minax vultus, et major animi vigor. Multum (ut inter Germanos) rationis ac sollertiae: praeponere electos, audire praepositos, nosse ordines, intelligere occasiones, differre inpetus, disponere diem, vallare noctem, fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare: quodque rarissimum nec nisi Romanae disciplinae concessum, plus reponere in duce, quam in exercitu. Omne robur in pedite, quem super arma ferramentis quoque et copiis onerant. Alios ad proelium ire videas, Cattos ad bellum: rari excursus et fortuita pugna. Equestrium sane virium id proprium, cito parare victoriam, cito cedere. Velocitas juxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiae est.

XXXI. Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum rara et privata cujusque audentia apud Cattos in consensum vertit, ut primum adoleverint, crinem barbamque submittere, nec nisi hoste caeso exuere votivum obligatumque virtuti oris habitum. Super sanguinem et spolia revelant frontem, seque *tum demum pretia nascendi rettulisse dignosque patria ac parentibus* ferunt. Igna-

vis et inbellibus manet squalor. Fortissimus quisque ferreum insuper annulum (ignominiosum id genti) velut vinculum gestat, donec se caede hostis absolvat. Plurimis Cattorum hic placet habitus. Jamque canent insignes, et hostibus simul suisque monstrati: omnium penes hos initia pugnarum; haec prima semper acies visu nova. Nam ne in pace quidem vultu mitiore mansuescunt. Nulli domus, aut ager, aut aliqua cura: prout ad quemque venere, aluntur: prodigi alieni, contemptores sui; donec exsanguis senectus tam durae virtuti inpares faciat.

XXXII. Proximi Cattis certum jam alveo Rhenum, quique terminus esse sufficiat, Usipii ac Tencteri colunt. Tencteri, super solitum bellorum decus, equestris disciplinae arte praecellunt; nec major apud Cattos peditum laus, quam Tencteris equitum. Sic instituere majores, posteri imitantur. Hi lusus infantium, haec juvenum aemulatio; perseverant senes. Inter familiam et penates et jura successionum equi traduntur; excipit filius, non, ut cetera, maximus natu, sed prout ferox bello et melior.

XXXIII. Juxta Tencteros Bructeri olim occurrebant; nunc Chamavos et Angrivarios inmigrasse narratur, pulsis Bructeris ac penitus excisis, vicinarum consensu nationum; seu superbiae odio, seu praedae dulcedine, seu favore quodam erga nos deorum: nam ne spectaculo quidem proelii invidere: super sexaginta milia, non armis telisque Romanis, sed, quod magnificentius est, oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt. Maneat, quaeso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe

odium sui; quando urgentibus imperii fatis, nihil jam praestare fortuna majus potest, quam hostium discordiam.

XXXIV. Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo Dulgibini et Chasuari cludunt aliaeque gentes, haud perinde memoratae. A fronte Frisii excipiunt. *Majoribus minoribusque Frisiis* vocabulum est ex modo virium. Utraeque nationes usque ad oceanum Rheno praetexuntur, ambiuntque inmensos insuper lacus et Romanis classibus navigatos. Ipsum quin etiam oceanum illa tentavimus: et superesse adhuc Herculis columnas fama vulgavit, sive adiit Hercules, seu, quidquid ubique magnificum est, in claritatem ejus referre consensimus. Nec defuit audentia Druso Germanico: sed obstitit oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri. Mox nemo tentavit; sanctiusque ac reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam scire.

XXXV. Hactenus in Occidentem Germaniam novimus. In Septemtrionem ingenti flexu redit. Ac primo statim Caucorum gens, quamquam incipiat a Frisiis, ac partem litoris occupet, omnium, quas exposui, gentium lateribus obtenditur, donec in Cattos usque sinuetur. Tam inmensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum Cauci, sed et inplent, populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit justitia tueri: sine cupiditate, sine inpotentia, quieti secretique, nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur: idque praecipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod, ut superiores agant, non per injurias adsequuntur. Prompta tamen omnibus arma, ac, si res

poscat, exercitus, plurimum virorum equorumque: et quiescentibus eadem fama.

XXXVI. In latere Caucorum Cattorumque Cherusci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem inlacessiti nutrierunt: idque jucundius, quam tutius, fuit: quia inter inpotentes et validos falso quiescas; ubi manu agitur, modestia ac probitas nomina superioris sunt. Ita, qui olim *boni aequique* Cherusci, nunc *inertes ac stulti* vocantur: Cattis victoribus fortuna in sapientiam cessit. Tracti ruina Cheruscorum et Fosi, contermina gens, adversarum rerum ex aequo socii, cum in secundis minores fuissent.

XXXVII. Eundem Germaniae sinum proximi oceano Cimbri tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens: veterisque famae late vestigia manent, utraque ripa castra ac spatia, quorum ambitu nunc quoque metiaris molem manusque gentis et tam magni exitus fidem. Sescentesimum et quadragesimum annum urbs nostra agebat, cum primum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma, Caecilio Metello ac Papirio Carbone coss. Ex quo si ad alterum imperatoris Trajani consulatum computemus, ducenti ferme et decem anni conliguntur. Tamdiu Germania vincitur. Medio tam longi aevi spatio, multa invicem damna: non Samnis, non Poeni, non Hispaniae Galliaeve, ne Parthi quidem saepius admonuere: quippe regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum libertas. Quid enim aliud nobis, quam caedem Crassi, amisso et ipso Pacoro, infra Ventidium dejectus Oriens objecerit? At Germani Carbone et Cassio et Scauro Aurelio et Servilio Caepione, Cnaeo quoque Manlio fusis vel captis,

quinque simul consulares exercitus Populo Romano, Varum tresque cum eo legiones etiam Caesari abstulerunt: nec inpune Caius Marius in Italia, divus Julius in Gallia, Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus in suis eos sedibus perculerunt. Mox ingentes Caii Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae. Inde otium, donec occasione discordiae nostrae et civilium armorum, expugnatis legionum hibernis, etiam Gallias adfectavere: ac rursus pulsi inde, proximis temporibus triumphati magis quam victi sunt.

XXXVIII. Nunc de Suevis dicendum est, quorum non una, ut Cattorum Tencterorumve, gens: majorem enim Germaniae partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti, quamquam in commune *Suevi* vocentur. Insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodoque substringere. Sic Suevi a ceteris Germanis, sic Suevorum ingenui a servis, separantur. In aliis gentibus, seu cognatione aliqua Suevorum, seu (quod saepe adcidit) imitatione, rarum et intra juventae spatium; apud Suevos usque ad canitiem horrentem capillum retro sequuntur, ac saepe in ipso solo vertice ligant. Principes et ornatiorem habent: ea cura formae, sed innoxia. Neque enim ut ament amenturve; in altitudinem quamdam et terrorem, adituri bella, compti, ut hostium oculis, ornantur.

XXXIX. *Vetustissimos se nobilissimosque Suevorum* Semnones memorant. Fides antiquitatis religione firmatur. Stato tempore in silvam, auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram, omnes ejusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt, caesoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia. Est et alia luco reve-

rentia. Nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor, et potestatem numinis prae se ferens: si forte prolapsus est, adtolli et insurgere haud licitum: per humum evolvuntur: eoque omnis superstitio respicit, tamquam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera subjecta atque parentia. Adjicit auctoritatem fortuna Semnonum. Centum pagis habitant: magnoque corpore efficitur, ut se Suevorum caput credant.

XL. Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat: plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti, non per obsequium, sed proeliis et periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni deinde et Aviones et Angli et Varini et Eudoses et Suardones et Nuithones fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur. Nec quidquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Herthum, id est, Terram matrem, colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis, arbitrantur. Est in insula oceani castum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum, veste contectum: adtingere uni Sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrali deam intelligit, vectamque bubus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. Laeti tunc dies, festa loca, quaecunque adventu hospitioque dignatur. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; clausum omne ferrum: pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat. Mox vehiculum et vestes, et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant; quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud quod tantum perituri vident.

XLI. Et haec quidem pars Suevorum in secretiora

Germaniae porrigitur. Propior (ut, quo modo paulo ante Rhenum, sic nunc Danubium sequar) Hermundurorum civitas, fida Romanis, eoque solis Germanorum non in ripa commercium, sed penitus atque in splendidissima Raetiae provinciae colonia: passim et sine custode transeunt; et, cum ceteris gentibus arma modo castraque nostra ostendamus, his domos villasque patefecimus non concupiscentibus. In Hermunduris Albis oritur, flumen inclitum et notum olim; nunc tantum auditur.

XLII. Juxta Hermunduros Narisci, ac deinde Marcomani et Quadi agunt. Praecipua Marcomanorum gloria viresque, atque ipsa etiam sedes, pulsis olim Boiis, virtute parta. Nec Narisci Quadive degenerant. Eaque Germaniae velut frons est, quatenus Danubio peragitur. Marcomanis Quadisque usque ad nostram memoriam reges manserunt ex gente ipsorum, nobile Marobodui et Tudri genus; jam et externos patiuntur. Sed vis et potentia regibus ex auctoritate Romana: raro armis nostris, saepius pecunia juvantur.

XLIII. Nec minus valent retro Marsigni, Gothini, Osi, Buri: terga Marcomanorum Quadorumque claudunt: e quibus Marsigni et Buri sermone cultuque Suevos referunt. Gothinos Gallica, Osos Pannonica lingua, coarguit non esse Germanos, et quod tributa patiuntur: partem tributorum Sarmatae, partem Quadi, ut alienigenis inponunt. Gothini, quo magis pudeat, et ferrum effodiunt: omnesque hi populi pauca campestrium, ceterum saltus et vertices montium [jugumque] insederunt. Dirimit enim scinditque Sueviam continuum

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montium jugum, ultra quod plurimae gentes agunt: ex quibus latissime patet Lygiorum nomen in plures civitates diffusum. Valentissimas nominasse sufficiet, Arios, Helveconas, Manimos, Elysios, Naharvalos. Apud Naharvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. Praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu: sed *deos, interpretatione Romana, Castorem Pollucemque* memorant. Ea vis numini; nomen *Alcis:* nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium: ut fratres tamen, ut juvenes, venerantur. Ceterum Arii super vires, quibus enumeratos paulo ante populos antecedunt, truces, insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur: nigra scuta, tincta corpora: atras ad proelia noctes legunt; ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum adspectum: nam primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur. Trans Lygios Gotones regnantur, paulo jam adductius quam ceterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem. Protinus deinde ab oceano Rugii et Lemovii: omniumque harum gentium insigne, rotunda scuta, breves gladii, et erga reges obsequium.

XLIV. Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in oceano, praeter viros armaque classibus valent: forma navium eo differt, quod utrinque prora paratam semper adpulsui frontem agit: nec velis ministrantur, nec remos in ordinem lateribus adjungunt. Solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium. Est apud illos et opibus honos, eoque unus imperitat, nullis jam exceptionibus, non precario jure ferendi ~~aprendi~~: nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in pro-

miscuo, sed clausa sub custode et quidem servo, quia subitos hostium incursus prohibet oceanus, otiosae porro armatorum manus facile lasciviunt: enimvero neque nobilem, neque ingenuum, ne libertinum quidem, armis praeponere regia utilitas est.

XLV. Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum ac prope inmotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides; quod extremus cadentis jam solis fulgor in ortus edurat adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet; sonum insuper audiri formasque deorum et radios capitis adspici persuasio adjicit. Illuc usque et fama vera tantum natura. Ergo jam dextro Suevici maris littore Aestyorum gentes adluuntur: quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum; lingua Britannicae propior. Matrem deum venerantur: insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant. Id pro armis omnique tutela securum deae cultorem etiam inter hostes praestat. Rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus. Frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius, quam pro solita Germanorum inertia, laborant. Sed et mare scrutantur, ac soli omnium succinum, quod ipsi *glesum* vocant, inter vada atque in ipso litore legunt. Nec, quae natura, quaeve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quaesitum compertumve. Diu quin etiam inter cetera ejectamenta maris jacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen: ipsis in nullo usu; rude legitur, informe perfertur, pretiumque mirantes accipiunt. Succum tamen arborum esse intelligas, quia terrena quaedam atque etiam volucria animalia plerumque interlucent, quae inplicata humore mox durescente materia cluduntur. Fecundiora igitur nemora lucosque sicut Orientis secretis, ubi tura balsamaque sudantur,

ita Occidentis insulis terrisque inesse, crediderim; quae vicini solis radiis expressa atque liquentia in proximum mare labuntur, ac vi tempestatum in adversa littora exundant. Si naturam succini admoto igni temptes, in modum tedae accenditur, alitque flammam pinguem et olentem: mox ut in picem resinamve lentescit. Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur. Cetera similes uno differunt, quod femina dominatur: in tantum non modo a libertate sed etiam a servitute degenerant. Hic Sueviae finis.

XLVI. Peucinorum Venedorumque et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis adscribam, dubito, quamquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone cultu sede ac domiciliis ut Germani agunt. Sordes omnium ac torpor: procerum connubiis mixtis nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum foedantur. Venedi multum ex moribus traxerunt. Nam quidquid inter Peucinos Fennosque silvarum ac montium erigitur, latrociniis pererrant: hi tamen inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domos fingunt et scuta gestant et peditum usu ac pernicitate gaudent; quae omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt, in plaustro equoque viventibus. Fennis mira feritas, foeda paupertas: non arma, non equi, non penates: victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus: sola in sagittis spes, quas, inopia ferri, ossibus asperant: idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit. Passim enim comitantur, partemque praedae petunt. Nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque subfugium, quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur: huc redeunt juvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. Sed beatius arbitrantur quam

ingemere agris, inlaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare. Securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos, rem difficillimam adsecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset. Cetera jam fabulosa: *Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum vultusque, corpora atque artus ferarum, gerere*: quod ego, ut incompertum, in medium relinquam.

CORNELII TACITI

VITA

JULII AGRICOLAE.

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I. Clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere, antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus, quamquam incuriosa suorum aetas omisit, quotiens magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium parvis magnisque civitatibus commune, ignorantiam recti et invidiam. Sed apud priores ut agere memoratu digna pronum magisque in aperto erat, ita celeberrimus quisque ingenio, ad prodendam virtutis memoriam, sine gratia aut ambitione, bonae tantum conscientiae pretio ducebatur. Ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare fiduciam potius morum quam adrogantiam arbitrati sunt: nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem aut obtrectationi fuit: adeo virtutes iisdem temporibus optime aestimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur.

II. At mihi, nunc narraturo vitam defuncti hominis, venia opus fuit; quam non petissem, ni cursaturus tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora. Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse: neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum sae-

vitum, delegato triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. Scilicet illo igne vocem Populi Romani et libertatem Senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. Dedimus profecto grande patientiae documentum: et sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci, quam tacere.

III. Nunc demum redit animus: et quamquam primo statim beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque quotidie felicitatem imperii Nerva Trajanus, nec spem modo ac votum securitas publica sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur adsumpserit, natura tamen infirmitatis humanae tardiora sunt remedia, quam mala; et, ut corpora lente augescunt, cito exstinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius, quam revocaveris. Subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dulcedo, et invisa primo desidia postremo amatur. Quid? si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis aevi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque saevitia principis, interciderunt? Pauci, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum, sed etiam nostri superstites sumus; exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus juvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis terminos, per silentium venimus. Non tamen pigebit, vel incondita ac rudi voce, memoriam

prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium bonorum composuisse. Hic interim liber honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit, aut excusatus.

IV. Cnaeus Julius Agricola, vetere et inlustri Forojuliensium colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem Caesarum habuit, quae equestris nobilitas est. Pater Julius Graecinus senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiae sapientiaeque notus, iisque virtutibus iram Caii Caesaris meritus: namque M. Silanum adcusare jussus et, quia abnuerat, interfectus est. Mater Julia Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis: in hujus sinu indulgentiaque educatus, per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit. Arcebat eum ab inlecebris peccantium, praeter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuerat, locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mixtum ac bene compositum. Memoria teneo, solitum ipsum narrare, *se in prima juventa studium philosophiae acrius, ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coercuisset.* Scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulcritudinem ac speciem excelsae magnaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute adpetebat. Mox mitigavit ratio et aetas: retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.

V. Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino, diligenti ac moderato duci, adprobavit, electus quem contubernio aestimaret. Nec Agricola licenter, more juvenum qui militiam in lasciviam ver-

tunt, neque segniter ad voluptates et commeatus titulum tribunatus et inscitiam rettulit: sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil adpetere in jactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare, simulque anxius et intentus agere. Non sane alias exercitatior magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit: trucidati veterani, incensae coloniae, intercepti exercitus; tum de salute, mox de victoria, certavere. Quae cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur, ac summa rerum et reciperatae provinciae gloria in ducem cessit, artem et usum et stimulos addidere juveni: intravitque animum militaris gloriae cupido, ingrata temporibus quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio, nec minus periculum ex magna fama, quam ex mala.

VI. Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem digressus, Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam, sibi junxit: idque matrimonium ad majora nitenti decus ac robur fuit: vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam caritatem et invicem se anteponendo; nisi quod in bona uxore tanto major laus, quanto in mala plus culpae est. Sors quaesturae provinciam Asiam, proconsulem Salvium Titianum, dedit: quorum neutro corruptus est; quamquam et provincia dives ac parata peccantibus, et proconsul in omnem aviditatem pronus, quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuam dissimulationem mali. Auctus est ibi filia, in subsidium et solatium simul: nam filium ante sublatum brevi amisit. Mox inter quaesturam ac tribunatum plebis atque ipsum etiam tribunatus annum quiete et otio transiit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit.

Idem praeturae tenor et silentium: nec enim jurisdictio obvenerat. Ludos et inania honoris modo rationis atque abundantiae duxit, uti longe a luxuria, ita famae propior. Tum electus a Galba ad dona templorum recognoscenda, diligentissima conquisitione fecit, ne cujus alterius sacrilegium respublica quam Neronis sensisset.

VII. Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque ejus adflixit: nam classis Othoniana, licenter vaga, dum Intemelios (Liguriae pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolae in praediis suis interfecit, praediaque ipsa et magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, quae causa caedis fuerat. Igitur ad solemnia pietatis profectus Agricola, nuntio adfectati a Vespasiano imperii deprehensus, ac statim in partes transgressus est. Initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat, admodum juvene Domitiano, et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante. Is missum ad delectus agendos Agricolam, integreque ac strenue versatum, vicesimae legioni, tarde ad sacramentum transgressae, praeposuit, ubi decessor seditiose agere narrabatur; quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat; nec legatus praetorius ad cohibendum potens, incertum, suo an militum ingenio: ita successor simul, et ultor electus, rarissima moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos, quam fecisse.

VIII. Praeerat tunc Britanniae Vettius Bolanus, placidius, quam feroci provincia dignum est: temperavit Agricola vim suam, ardoremque compescuit, ne incresceret, peritus obsequi, eruditusque utilia honestis mis-

cere. Brevi deinde Britannia consularem Petilium Cerialem accepit. Habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum. Sed primo Cerialis modo labores et discrimina, mox et gloriam communicabat; saepe parti exercitus in experimentum, aliquando majoribus copiis ex eventu praefecit; nec Agricola umquam in suam famam gestis exsultavit; ad auctorem et ducem, ut minister, fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in praedicando, extra invidiam, nec extra gloriam, erat.

IX. Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespasianus inter patricios adscivit, ac deinde provinciae Aquitaniae praeposuit, splendidae in primis dignitatis, administratione ac spe consulatus, cui destinarat. Credunt plerique, militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem deesse; quia castrensis jurisdictio secura et obtusior, ac plura manu agens, calliditatem fori non exerceat. Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter togatos, facile justeque agebat. Jam vero tempora curarum remissionumque divisa. Ubi conventus ac judicia poscerent, gravis, intentus, severus, et saepius misericors: ubi officio satisfactum, nulla ultra potestatis persona: tristitiam et adrogantiam et avaritiam exuerat: nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem, aut severitas amorem, deminuit. Integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre, injuria virtutum fuerit. Ne famam quidem, cui etiam saepe boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute aut per artem quaesivit: procul ab aemulatione adversus conlegas, procul a contentione adversus procuratores: et vincere inglorium, et adteri sordidum arbitrabatur. Minus triennium in ea legatione detentus, ac statim ad

spem consulatus revocatus est, comitante opinione, Britanniam ei provinciam dari: nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur. Haud semper errat fama, aliquando et elegit. Consul egregiae tum spei filiam juveni mihi despondit, ac post consulatum conlocavit; et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adjecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

X. Britanniae situm populosque, multis scriptoribus memoratos, non in comparationem curae ingeniive referam, sed quia tum primum perdomita est; itaque, quae priores, nondum comperta, eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur. Britannia insularum, quas Romana notitia complectitur, maxima, spatio ac caelo in orientem Germaniae, in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur: Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur: septemtrionalia ejus, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur. Formam totius Britanniae Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores, oblongae scutulae vel bipenni adsimilavere: et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universum fama est transgressa: sed inmensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo jam litore terrarum, velut in cuneum tenuatur. Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta, insulam esse Britanniam adfirmavit ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Dispecta est et Thule, quam hactenus nix et hiems abdebat; sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus perhibent ne ventis quidem proinde adtolli: credo, quod rariores terrae montesque, causa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui maris

tardius inpellitur. Naturam oceani atque aestus neque quaerere hujus operis est, ac multi rettulere: unum addiderim: nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenus adcrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et jugis etiam atque montibus inseri velut in suo.

XI. Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenae an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii: atque ex eo argumenta: namque rutilae Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus, Germanicam originem adseverant Silurum colorati vultus et torti plerumque crines, et posita contra Hispania, Iberos veteres trajecisse easque sedes occupasse, fidem faciunt. Proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis vi, seu procurrentibus in diversa terris positio caeli corporibus habitum dedit: in universum tamen aestimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse, credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas superstitionum persuasione: sermo haud multum diversus, in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia, et, ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido: plus tamen ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. Nam Gallos quoque in bonis floruisse accepimus: mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate. Quod Britannorum olim victis evenit; ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt.

XII. In pedite robur: quaedam nationes et curru proeliantur: honestior auriga, clientes propugnant: olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur: nec aliud adversus validissimas

gentes pro nobis utilius, quam quod in commune non consulunt. Rarus duabus tribusque civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus: ita, dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. Caelum crebris imbribus ac nebulis foedum; asperitas frigorum abest. Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram, et nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. *Quod si nubes non obficiant, adspici per noctem solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere, sed transire* adfirmant. Scilicet extrema et plana terrarum humili umbra non erigunt tenebras, infraque caelum et sidera nox cadit. Solum, praeter oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta, patiens frugum, fecundum: tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt: eadem utriusque rei causa, multus humor terrarum caelique. Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriae: gignit et oceanus margarita, sed subfusca et liventia. Quidam artem abesse legentibus arbitrantur: nam in rubro mari viva ac spirantia saxis avelli, in Britannia, prout expulsa sint, conligi: ego facilius crediderim naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis avaritiam.

XIII. Ipsi Britanni delectum ac tributa et injuncta imperii munera inpigre obeunt si injuriae absint: has aegre tolerant, jam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant. Igitur primus omnium Romanorum divus Julius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas, ac litore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. Mox bella civilia, et in rempublicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio

Britanniae etiam in pace. Consilium id divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum. Agitasse C. Caesarem de intranda Britannia, satis constat, ni velox ingenio, mobilis poenitentia, et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. Divus Claudius auctor operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque, et adsumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano: quod initium venturae mox fortunae fuit. Domitae gentes, capti reges, et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.

XIV. Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus, ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius: redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae: addita insuper veteranorum colonia. Quaedam civitates Cogiduno regi donatae (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit) vetere ac jam pridem recepta Populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. Mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti officii quaereretur. Didium Veranius excepit, isque intra annum exstinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paulinus biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus firmatisque praesidiis: quorum fiducia Monam insulam, ut vires rebellibus ministrantem, adgressus, terga occasioni patefecit.

XV. Namque absentia Legati remoto metu, Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre injurias et interpretando accendere: *nihil profici patientia, nisi ut graviora, tamquam ex facili tolerantibus, imperentur. Singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos inponi, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret: aeque*

discordiam praepositorum, aeque concordiam, subjectis exitiosam: alterius manus, centuriones alterius, vim et contumelias miscere. Nihil jam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum. In proelio fortiorem esse, qui spoliet: nunc ab ignavis plerumque et inbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, injungi delectus, tamquam mori tantum pro patria nescientibus. Quantum enim transisse militum, si sese Britanni numerent? sic Germanias excussisse jugum, et flumine, non oceano, defendi: sibi patriam, conjuges, parentes illis avaritiam et luxuriam causas belli esse: recessuros, ut divus Julius recessisset, modo virtutes majorum suorum aemularentur. Neve proelii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent: plus inpetus, majorem constantiam, penes miseros esse. Jam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum ducem absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent: jam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit, deliberare: porro in ejusmodi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi, quam audere.

XVI. His atque talibus invicem instincti, Boudicea, generis regii femina, duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt) sumpsere universi bellum: ac sparsos per castella milites consectati, expugnatis praesidiis, ipsam coloniam invasere, ut sedem servitutis: nec ullum in barbaris saevitiae genus omisit ira et victoria. Quod nisi Paulinus cognito provinciae motu propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret: quam unius proelii fortuna veteri patientiae restituit, tenentibus arma plerisque, quos conscientia defectionis et propius ex legato timor agitabat. Hic cum egregius cetera, adroganter in deditos, et, ut suae quoque injuriae ultor, durius consu-

leret, missus Petronius Turpilianus, tamquam exorabilior, et delictis hostium novus eoque poenitentiae mitior, conpositis prioribus, nihil ultra ausus, Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit. Trebellius segnior, et nullis castrorum experimentis, comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. Didicere jam barbari quoque ignoscere, vitiis blandientibus; et interventus civilium armorum praebuit justam segnitiae excusationem. Sed discordia laboratum, cum adsuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Trebellius, fuga ac latebris vitata exercitus ira, indecorus atque humilis, precario mox praefuit: ac velut pacti, exercitus licentiam, dux salutem, haec seditio sine sanguine stetit. Nec Vettius Bolanus, manentibus adhuc civilibus bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplina: eadem inertia erga hostes, similis petulantia castrorum: nisi quod innocens Bolanus, et nullis delictis invisus, caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.

XVII. Sed, ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam reciperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes. Et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, Brigantum civitatem, quae numerosissima provinciae totius perhibetur, adgressus: multa proelia, et aliquando non incruenta: magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria amplexus, aut bello. Et cum Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset, sustinuit quoque molem Julius Frontinus, vir magnus, quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit, super virtutem hostium locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.

XVIII. Hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices

media jam aestate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites, velut omissa expeditione, ad securitatem, et hostes ad occasionem, verterentur. Ordovicum civitas haud multo ante adventum ejus, alam in finibus suis agentem, prope universam obtriverat: eoque initio erecta provincia, ut quibus bellum volentibus erat, probare exemplum aut recentis legati animum opperiri. Tum Agricola—quamquam transacta aestas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, praesumpta apud militem illius anni quies (tarda et contraria bellum incohaturo), et plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur—ire obviam discrimini statuit; contractisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in aequum degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem; caesaque prope universa gente, non ignarus, instandum famae, ac, prout prima cessissent, fore universa, Monam insulam, (cujus possessione revocatum Paulinum rebellione totius Britanniae supra memoravi) redigere in potestatem animo intendit. Sed, ut in dubiis consiliis, naves deerant; ratio et constantia ducis transvexit. Depositis omnibus sarcinis, lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada et patrius nandi usus, quo simul seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente inmisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui naves, qui mare exspectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. Ita petita pace ac dedita insula, clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola, quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus alii per ostentationem, aut officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset.

Nec Agricola prosperitate rerum in vanitatem usus, expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat, victos continuisse: ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est, sed ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit, aestimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

XIX. Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta, parum profici armis, si injuriae sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. A se suisque orsus, primam domum suam coercuit; quod plerisque haud minus arduum est, quam provinciam regere. Nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei: non studiis privatis, nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionum milites adscire, sed optimum quemque fidelissimum putare: omnia scire, non omnia exsequi: parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare: nec poena semper, sed saepius poenitentia contentus esse: officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos praeponere, quam damnare cum peccassent. Frumenti et tributorum auctionem aequalitate munerum mollire, circumcisis quae in quaestum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur. Namque per ludibrium adsidere clausis horreis, et emere ultro frumenta, ac vendere pretio cogebantur. Devortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates a proximis hibernis in remota et avia deferrent, donec quod omnibus in promptu erat, paucis lucrosum fieret.

XX. Haec primo statim anno comprimendo, egregiam famam paci circumdedit; quae vel incuria vel tolerantia priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur. Sed, ubi aestas advenit, contracto exercitu, militum in agmine

laudare modestiam, disjectos coercere, loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria ac silvas ipse praetentare, et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur; atque, ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus inritamenta pacis ostentare. Quibus rebus multae civitates, quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus, iram posuere, et praesidiis castellisque circumdatae tanta ratione curaque ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars inlacessita transierit.

XXI. Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta: namque, ut homines dispersi ac rudes, eoque bello faciles, quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adjuvare publice, ut templa, fora, domus exstruerent, laudando promptos, et castigando segnes: ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat. Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut, qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga: paulatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea et conviviorum elegantiam: idque apud inperitos *humanitas* vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

XXII. Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit, vastatis usque ad Taum (aestuario nomen est) nationibus: qua formidine territi hostes, quamquam conflictatum saevis tempestatibus exercitum lacessere non ausi; ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit. Adnotabant periti, non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse; nullum ab Agricola positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum, aut pactione ac

fuga desertum. Crebrae eruptiones: nam adversus moras obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur. Ita intrepida ibi hiems, et sibi quisque praesidio, inritis hostibus eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna aestatis hibernis eventibus pensare, tum aestate atque hieme juxta pellebantur. Nec Agricola umquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit: seu centurio seu praefectus incorruptum facti testem habebat. Apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur; ut bonis comis erat, ita adversus malos injucundus: ceterum ex iracundia nihil supererat; secretum et silentium ejus non timeres. Honestius putabat offendere, quam odisse.

XXIII. Quarta aestas obtinendis quae percurrerat insumpta, ac, si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. Nam Clota et Bodotria, diversi maris aestibus per inmensum revectae, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur: quod tum praesidiis firmabatur: atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, submotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

XXIV. Quinto expeditionum anno nave prima transgressus, ignotas ad id tempus gentes crebris simul ac prosperis proeliis domuit: eamque partem Britanniae, quae Hiberniam adspicit, copiis instruxit in spem magis, quam ob formidinem: siquidem Hibernia, medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita et Gallico quoque mari opportuna, valentissimam imperii partem magnis invicem usibus miscuerit. Spatium ejus, si Britanniae comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt. Melius aditus portusque

per conmercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie amicitiae in obcasionem retinebat. Saepe ex eo audivi, legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse. Idque etiam adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma, et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.

XXV. Ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum incohabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostili exercitu itinera timebantur, portus classe exploravit; quae, ab Agricola primum adsumpta in partem virium, sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra simul mari bellum inpelleretur, ac saepe iisdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles, mixti copiis et laetitia, sua quisque facta, suos casus adtollerent; ac modo silvarum et montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus oceanus militari jactantia compararentur. Britannos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupefaciebat, tamquam aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur. Ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi, paratu magno, majore fama (uti mos est de ignotis) obpugnasse ultro, castella adorti metum ut provocantes addiderant; regrediendumque citra Bodotriam et excedendum potius quam pellerentur, specie prudentium ignavi admonebant; cum interim cognoscit, hostes pluribus agminibus inrupturos. Ac ne superante numero et peritia locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tres partes[1] exercitu incessit.

XXVI. Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio, universi nonam legionem, ut maxime invalidam, nocte adgressi, inter somnum ac trepidationem caesis vigilibus, inrupere. Jamque in ipsis castris pugnabant, cum Agricola iter hostium ab exploratoribus edoctus et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos equitum peditumque adsultare tergis pugnantium jubet, mox ab univer[illegible] adjici clamorem: et propinqua luce fulsere signa [illegible] ancipiti malo territi Britanni; et Romanis redit ani[illegible] ac, securi pro salute, de gloria certabant. Ultro quin etiam inrupere; et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum angustiis proelium, donec pulsi hostes; utroque exercitu certante, his, ut tulisse opem, illis, ne eguisse auxilio viderentur. Quodnisi paludes et silvae fugientes texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret.

XXVII. Cujus constantia ac fama ferox exercitus, *nihil virtuti suae invium; penetrandam Caledoniam, inveniendumque tandem Britanniae terminum continuo proeliorum cursu*, fremebant: atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes, prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant: iniquissima haec bellorum conditio est; prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni inputantur. At Britanni non virtute, sed obcasione et arte ducis rati, nihil ex adrogantia remittere, quo minus juventutem armarent, conjuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, coetibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem civitatum sancirent: atque ita inritatis utrimque animis discessum.

XXVIII. Eadem aestate cohors Usipiorum, per Germanias conscripta, in Britanniam transmissa, magnum ac memorabile facinus ausa est. Occiso centu-

rione ac militibus, qui, ad tradendam disciplinam inmixti manipulis, exemplum et rectores habebantur, tres liburnicas adactis per vim gubernatoribus adscendere: et uno remigrante, suspectis duobus eoque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore, ut miraculum, praevehebantur. Mox hac atque illa rapti, et cum plerisque Britannorum a defensantium proelio congressi, ac saepe victores, uando pulsi, eo ad extremum inopiae venere, ut infir-simos suorum, mox sorte ductos, vescerentur. Atque ita circumvecti Britanniam, amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus, pro praedonibus habiti, primum a Suevis, mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt: ac fuere, quos per commercia venumdatos, et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos, indicium tanti casus inlustravit.

XXIX. Initio aestatis Agricola, domestico vulnere ictus, anno ante natum filium amisit. Quem casum neque, ut plerique fortium virorum, ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus ac maerorem muliebriter tulit; et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat. Igitur praemissa classe, quae pluribus locis praedata magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Grampium pervenit, quem jam hostes insederant. Nam Britanni, nihil fracti pugnae prioris eventu, et ultionem aut servitium exspectantes, tandemque docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et foederibus omnium civitatum vires exciverant. Jamque super triginta milia armatorum adspiciebantur, et adhuc adfluebat omnis juventus, et quibus cruda ac

viridis senectus, clari bello, ac sua quisque decora gestantes; cum inter plures duces virtute et genere praestans, nomine Calgacus, apud contractam multitudinem, proelium poscentem, in hunc modum locutus fertur:—

XXX. *Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor, magnus mihi animus est, hodiernum diem consensumque vestrum initium libertatis totius Britanniae fore. (Nam et universi servitutis expertes, et nullae ultra terrae, ac ne mare quidem securum, inminente nobis classe Romana: ita proelium atque arma, quae fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima sunt. Priores pugnae, quibus adversus Romanos varia fortuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant: quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae, eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti, nec servientium litora adspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu dominationis inviolatos habebamus. Nos, terrarum ac libertatis extremos, recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit: nunc terminus Britanniae patet; atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est. Sed nulla jam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa: et infestiores Romani; quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium et modestiam effugeris. Raptores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terrae, et mare scrutantur: si locuples hostis est, avari; si pauper, ambitiosi: quos non Oriens non Occidens satiaverit: soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari adfectu concupiscunt. Auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus* imperium; *atque, ubi solitudinem faciunt,* pacem *adpellant.*

XXXI. *Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura*

carissimos esse voluit: hi per delectus, alibi servituri, auferuntur. Conjuges sororesque, etsi hostilem libidinem effugiant, nomine amicorum atque hospitum polluuntur. Bona fortunasque in tributum egerunt, annos in frumentum; corpora ipsa ac manus, silvis ac paludibus emuniendis, verbera inter ac contumelias, conterunt. Nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur: Britannia servitutem suam quotidie emit, quotidie pascit. Ac, sicut in familia recentissimus quisque servorum et conservis ludibrio est; sic, in hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulatu, novi nos et viles in excidium petimur. Neque enim arva nobis, aut metalla, aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. Virtus porro ac ferocia subjectorum ingrata imperantibus: et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius. Ita, sublata spe veniae, tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus, quam quibus gloria carissima est. Brigantes femina duce exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere jugum potuere: nos integri et indomiti, et libertatem non in praesentia laturi, primo statim congressu non ostendamus quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit?

XXXII. An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem, quam in pace lasciviam, adesse creditis? Nostris illi dissensionibus ac discordiis clari, vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui vertunt; quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus, ut secundae res tenent, ita adversae dissolvent; nisi si Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi alienae sanguinem commodent, diutius tamen hostes quam servos, fide et adfectu

teneri putatis: metus et terror est, infirma vincula caritatis; quae ubi removeris, qui timere desierint, odisse incipient. Omnia victoriae incitamenta pro nobis sunt: nullae Romanos conjuges adcendunt; nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt; aut nulla plerisque patria, aut alia est: paucos numero, circum trepidos ignorantia, caelum ipsum ac mare et silvas, ignota omnia circumspectantes, clausos quodammodo ac vinctos Dii nobis tradiderunt. Ne terreat vanus adspectus et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque tegit, neque vulnerat. In ipsa hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus: agnoscent Britanni suam causam: recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem: deserent illos ceteri Germani, tamquam nuper Usipii reliquerunt. Nec quidquam ultra formidinis: vacua castella, senum coloniae, inter male parentes et injuste imperantes, aegra municipia et discordantia. Hic dux, hic exercitus: ibi tributa et metalla et ceterae servientium poenae; quas in aeternum perferre, aut statim ulcisci, in hoc campo est. Proinde, ituri in aciem, et majores vestros et posteros cogitate.

XXXIII. Excepere orationem alacres et barbari moris cantu et fremitu clamoribusque dissonis. Jamque agmina et armorum fulgores audentissimi cujusque procursu: simul instruebatur acies; cum Agricola quamquam laetum et vix munimentis coercitum militem adhortatus, ita dissuerit:—*Octavus annus est, commilitones, ex quo virtute et auspiciis imperii Romani fide atque opera vestra Britanniam vicistis. Tot expeditionibus, tot proeliis, seu fortitudine adversus hostes, seu patientia ac labore paene adversus ipsam rerum naturam opus fuit.*

Neque me militum, neque vos ducis poenituit. Ergo egressi, ego veterum legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos, finem Britanniae, non fama, nec rumore, sed castris et armis tenemus. Inventa Britannia, et subacta. Equidem saepe in agmine, cum vos paludes montesve et flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cujusque voces audiebam, Quando dabitur hostis, quando acies? *Veniunt, e latebris suis extrusi; et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque prona victoribus, atque eadem victis adversa. Nam, ut superasse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse aestuaria, pulcrum ac decorum in frontem; ita fugientibus periculosissima, quae hodie prosperrima sunt. Neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia aut commeatuum eadem abundantia; sed manus et arma et in his omnia. Quod ad me adtinet, jam pridem mihi decretum est, neque exercitus, neque ducis terga tuta esse. Proinde et honesta mors turpi vita potior; et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt: nec inglorium fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse.*

XXXIV. *Si novae gentes atque ignota acies constitisset, aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer: nunc vestra decora recensete, vestros oculos interrogate. Ii sunt, quos proximo anno, unam legionem furto noctis adgressos, clamore debellastis: ii ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi, ideoque tam diu superstites. Quomodo silvas saltusque penetrantibus fortissimum quodque animal robore, pavida et inertia ipso agminis sono pelluntur, sic acerrimi Britannorum jam pridem ceciderunt: reliquus est numerus ignavorum et metuentium, quos quod tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, sed deprehensi sunt novissimi:*

ideo extremo metu corpora defixere in his vestigiis, in quibus pulcram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis. Transigite cum expeditionibus: inponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem: adprobate reipublicae nunquam exercitui inputari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi.

XXXV. Et adloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est, statimque ad arma discursum. Instinctos ruentesque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quae octo milia erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria milia cornibus adfunderentur: legiones pro vallo stetere, ingens victoriae decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellanti, et auxilium si pellerentur. Britannorum acies, in speciem simul ac terrorem, editioribus locis constiterat ita, ut primum agmen aequo, ceteri per acclive jugum connexi velut insurgerent; media campi covinarius et eques strepitu ac discursu complebat. Tum Agricola, superante hostium multitudine, veritus ne simul in frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat, et *arcessendas* plerique *legiones* admonebant, promptior in spem et firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit.

XXXVI. Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur: simul constantia, simul arte Britanni, ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris, missilia nostrorum vitare, vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere; donec Agricola tres Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent: quod et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum,

et hostibus inhabile, parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus: nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum, et in arcto pugnam non tolerabant. Igitur, ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora foedare, et stratis qui in aequo obstiterant, erigere in colles aciem coepere, ceterae cohortes, aemulatione et inpetu conmixtae, proximos quosque caedere: ac plerique semineces aut integri festinatione victoriae relinquebantur. Interim equitum turmae fugere, covinarii peditum se proelio miscuere: et, quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant; minimeque equestris ea pugnae facies erat, cum aegre diu stantes, simul equorum corporibus inpellerentur, ac saepe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant.

XXXVII. Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collium insederant, et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, degredi paulatim et circumire terga vincentium coeperant; ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quattuor equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus obposuisset, quantoque ferocius adcurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disjecisset. Ita consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum; transvectaeque praecepto ducis a fronte pugnantium alae, aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum: sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem, oblatis aliis, trucidare. Jam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervae armatorum paucioribus terga praestare, quidam inermes ultro ruere, ac se morti obferre.

Passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et cruenta humus. Est aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque: postquam silvis adpropinquarunt, conlecti primos sequentium, incautos et locorum ignaros, circumveniebant. Quodni frequens ubique Agricola validas et expeditas cohortes, indaginis modo, et, sicubi arctiora erant, partem equitum, dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare jussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. Ceterum, ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre, in fugam versi, non agminibus ut prius, nec alius alium respectantes, rari et vitabundi invicem longinqua atque avia petiere. Finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit. Caesa hostium ad decem milia: nostrorum trecenti sexaginta cecidere, in quis Aulus Atticus, praefectus cohortis, juvenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus inlatus.

XXXVIII. Et nox quidem gaudio praedaque laeta victoribus: Britanni palantes, mixtoque virorum mulierumque ploratu, trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per iram ultro incendere; eligere latebras et statim relinquere; miscere invicem consilia aliqua, dein separare; aliquando frangi adspectu pignorum suorum, saepius concitari: satisque constabat, saevisse quosdam in conjuges ac liberos, tamquam misererentur. Proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit: vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvius: quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugae vestigia, neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum, et exacta jam aestate spargi bellum nequibat, in fines Horestorum exercitum

deducit. Ibi acceptis obsidibus, praefecto classis *circumvehi Britanniam* praecepit: datae ad id vires, et praecesserat terror: ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. Et simul classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trutulensem portum tenuit, unde proximo latere Britanniae lecto omni redierat.

XXXIX. Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum jactantia epistolis Agricolae auctum, ut Domitiano moris erat, fronte laetus, pectore anxius excepit. Inerat conscientia, derisui fuisse nuper falsum é Germania triumphum, emptis per conmercia, quorum habitus et crines in captivorum speciem formarentur: at nunc veram magnamque victoriam, tot milibus hostium caesis, ingenti fama celebrari. Id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principis adtolli: frustra studia fori et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet: et cetera utcunque facilius dissimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse. Talibus curis exercitus, quodque saevae cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satiatus, optimum in praesentia statuit, reponere odium, donec inpetus famae et favor exercitus languesceret: nam etiam tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

XL. Igitur *triumphalia ornamenta et inlustris statuae honorem et quidquid pro triumpho datur*, multo verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu jubet: addique insuper opinionem, Syriam provinciam Agricolae destinari, vacuam tum morte Atilii Rufi, consularis, et majoribus reservatam. Credidere plerique, libertum ex

secretioribus ministeriis missum ad Agricolam, codicillos, quibus ei Syria dabatur, tulisse, cum praecepto, ut, si in Britannia foret, traderentur; eumque libertum in ipso freto oceani obvium Agricolae, ne adpellato quidem eo, ad Domitianum remeasse; sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio principis fictum ac compositum est. Tradiderat interim Agricola successori suo provinciam quietam tutamque. Ac, ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio, noctu in urbem, noctu in palatium, ita ut praeceptum erat, venit: exceptusque brevi osculo, et nullo sermone, turbae servientium inmixtus est. Ceterum, ut militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus auxit, cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus: adeo ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem aestimare mos est, viso adspectoque Agricola quaererent famam, pauci interpretarentur.

XLI. Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens adcusatus, absens absolutus est: causa periculi non crimen ullum, aut querela laesi cujusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps, et gloria viri, ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes. Et ea insecuta sunt reipublicae tempora, quae sileri Agricolam non sinerent; tot exercitus in Moesia Daciaque, Germania et Pannonia, temeritate aut per ignaviam ducum amissi: tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti; nec jam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et possessione dubitatum. Ita, cum damna damnis continuarentur, atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur,

poscebatur ore vulgi dux Agricola: comparantibus cunctis vigorem constantiam et expertum bellis animum cum inertia et formidine reorum. Quibus sermonibus satis constat Domitiani quoque aures verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et livore, pronum deterioribus principem exstimulabant. Sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum, in ipsam gloriam praeceps agebatur.

XLII. Aderat jam annus, quo proconsulatum Asiae et Africae sortiretur; et occiso Civica nuper, nec Agricolae consilium deerat, nec Domitiano exemplum. Adcessere quidam cogitationum principis periti, qui, iturusne esset in provinciam, ultro Agricolam interrogarent: ac primo occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam suam in adprobanda excusatione obferre: postremo non jam obscuri, suadentes simul terrentesque, pertraxere ad Domitianum. Qui paratus simulatione, in adrogantiam conpositus, et audiit preces excusantis, et, cum adnuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est: nec erubuit beneficii invidia. Salarium tamen, proconsulari solitum obferri, et quibusdam a se ipso concessum, Agricolae non dedit: sive obfensus non petitum, sive ex conscientia, ne, quod vetuerat, videretur emisse. Proprium humani ingenii est, odisse quem laeseris: Domitiani vero natura praeceps in iram, et quo obscurior, eo inrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricolae leniebatur: quia non contumacia neque inani jactatione libertatis, famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant, quibus moris est, inlicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse: obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor

adsint, eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum reipublicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

XLIII. Finis vitae ejus nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. Vulgus quoque, et hic aliud agens populus, et ventitavere ad domum, et per fora et circulos locuti sunt: nec quisquam, audita morte Agricolae, aut laetatus est aut statim oblitus est. Augebat miserationem constans rumor, *veneno interceptum.* Nobis nihil conperti adfirmare ausim: ceterum per omnem valetudinem ejus, crebrius quam ex more principatus per nuntios visentis, et libertorum primi et medicorum intimi venere; sive cura illud, sive inquisitio erat. Supremo quidem die, momenta deficientis per dispositos cursores nuntiata constabat, nullo credente, sic adcelerari quae tristis audiret. Speciem tamen doloris animo vultuque prae se tulit, securus jam odii, et qui facilius dissimularet gaudium quam metum. Satis constabat lecto testamento Agricolae, quo coheredem optimae uxori et piissimae filiae Domitianum scripsit, laetatum eum velut honore judicioque: tam caeca et conrupta mens adsiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem.

XLIV. Natus erat Agricola Caio Caesare primum Consule Idibus Juniis: excessit sexto et quinquagesimo anno, decimo Kalendas Septembris Collega Priscoque consulibus. Quodsi habitum quoque ejus posteri noscere velint; decentior quam sublimior fuit: nihil metus in vultu; gratia oris supererat: bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integrae aetatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam

longissimum aevum peregit. Quippe et vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, inpleverat, et consularibus ac triumphalibus ornamentis praedito, quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat? Opibus nimiis non gaudebat; speciosae contigerant: filia atque uxore superstitibus, potest videri etiam beatus; incolumi dignitate, florente fama, salvis adfinitatibus et amicitiis, futura effugisse. Nam, sicuti durare in hac beatissimi saeculi luce, ac principem Trajanum videre, [quod] augurio votisque apud nostras aures ominabatur, ita festinatae mortis grande solatium tulit, evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus, non jam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu, rempublicam exhausit.

XLV. Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam, et clausum armis senatum, et eadem strage tot consularium caedes, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exsilia et fugas. Una adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur, et intra Albanam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat, et Massa Bebius jam tum reus erat. Mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus: nos Maurici Rusticique visus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos, jussitque scelera, non spectavit: praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat, videre et adspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus subficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat. Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate, sed etiam obportunitate mortis. Ut perhibent qui interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis constans et libens fatum excepisti; tamquam pro virili portione innocentium principi donares. Sed mihi filiaeque, praeter acerbitatem

parentis erepti, auget maestitiam, quod adsidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu, complexu, non contigit. Excepissemus certe mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus. Noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus; nobis tam longae absentiae conditione ante quadriennium amissus es. Omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, adsidente amantissima uxore, superfuere honori tuo: paucioribus tamen lacrimis conpositus es, et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui.

XLVI. Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore exstinguuntur magnae animae, placide quiescas, nosque, domum tuam, ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est: admiratione te potius, et inmortalibus laudibus, et, si natura suppeditet, aemulatu decoremus. Is verus honos, ea conjunctissimi cujusque pietas. Id filiae quoque uxorique praeceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque ejus secum revolvant, famamque ac figuram animi magis quam corporis conplectantur: non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus, quae marmore aut aere finguntur; sed ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus inbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis aeterna; quam tenere et exprimere, non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. Quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in aeternitate temporum, fama rerum. Nam multos veterum, velut inglorios et ignobiles, oblivio obruet: Agricola, posteritati narratus et traditus, superstes erit.

CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM

LIBER PRIMUS.

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ANNALIUM

LIBER PRIMUS.

Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere. Libertatem et consulatum L. Brutus instituit. Dictaturae ad tempus sumebantur: neque decemviralis potestas ultra biennium, neque tribunorum militum consulare jus diu valuit. Non Cinnae, non Sullae longa dominatio; et Pompeii Crassique potentia cito in Caesarem, Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cessere; qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine *principis* sub imperium adcepit. Sed veteris populi Romani prospera vel adversa claris scriptoribus memorata sunt; temporibusque Augusti dicendis non defuere decora ingenia, donec gliscente adulatione deterrerentur. Tiberii Caiique et Claudii ac Neronis res, florentibus ipsis, ob metum falsae; postquam occiderant, recentibus odiis conpositae sunt. Inde consilium mihi pauca de Augusto et extrema tradere, mox Tiberii principatum et cetera, sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul habeo.

II. Postquam Bruto et Cassio caesis nulla jam pub-

lica arma, Pompeius apud Siciliam obpressus, exutoque Lepido, interfecto Antonio, ne Julianis quidem partibus nisi Caesar dux reliquus, posito triumviri nomine, consulem se ferens, et ad tuendam plebem tribunicio jure contentum; ubi militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit, insurgere paulatim, munia senatus, magistratuum, legum in se trahere, nullo adversante; cum ferocissimi per acies aut proscriptione cecidissent, ceteri nobilium, quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus et honoribus extollerentur, ac novis ex rebus aucti tuta et praesentia quam vetera et periculosa mallent. Neque provinciae illum rerum statum abnuebant, suspecto senatus populique imperio ob certamina potentium et avaritiam magistratuum; invalido legum auxilio, quae vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur.

III. Ceterum Augustus, subsidia dominationi, Claudium Marcellum, sororis filium, admodum adolescentem pontificatu et curuli aedilitate; Marcum Agrippam, ignobilem loco, bonum militia et victoriae socium, geminatis consulatibus extulit, mox defuncto Marcello generum sumpsit; Tiberium Neronem et Claudium Drusum, privignos, imperatoriis nominibus auxit, integra etiam tum domo sua. Nam genitos Agrippa, Caium ac Lucium, in familiam Caesarum induxerat; necdum posita puerili praetexta, *principes juventutis* adpellari, destinari consules, specie recusantis flagrantissime cupiverat. Ut Agrippa vita concessit, Lucium Caesarem euntem ad Hispanienses exercitus, Caium remeantem Armenia et vulnere invalidum mors fato propera vel novercae Liviae dolus abstulit; Drusoque pridem exstincto, Nero solus e

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privignis erat, illuc cuncta vergere: filius, conlega imperii, consors tribuniciae potestatis adsumitur, omnisque per exercitus ostentatur; non obscuris, ut antea, matris artibus, sed palam hortatu. Nam senem Augustum devinxerat adeo, uti nepotem unicum, Agrippam Postumum, in insulam Planasiam projiceret, rudem sane bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferocem, nullius tamen flagitii conpertum. At hercule Germanicum, Druso ortum, octo apud Rhenum legionibus inposuit, adscirique per adoptionem a Tiberio jussit; quamquam esset in domo Tiberii filius juvenis; sed quo pluribus munimentis insisteret. Bellum ea tempestate nullum, nisi adversus Germanos, supererat; abolendae magis infamiae ob amissum cum Quinctilio Varo exercitum, quam cupidine proferendi imperii aut dignum ob praemium. Domi res tranquillae; eadem magistratuum vocabula: juniores post Actiacam victoriam, etiam senes plerique inter bella civium nati: quotusquisque reliquus qui rem publicam vidisset?

IV. Igitur verso civitatis statu, nihil usquam prisci et integri moris: omnes exuta aequalitate jussa principis adspectare; nulla in praesens formidine, dum Augustus aetate validus seque et domum et pacem sustentavit. Postquam provecta jam senectus aegro et corpore fatigabatur, aderatque finis et spes novae, pauci bona libertatis incassum disserere; plures bellum pavescere, alii cupere: pars multo maxima inminentis dominos variis rumoribus differebant: *trucem Agrippam et ignominia adcensum non aetate neque rerum experientia tantae moli parem: Tiberium Neronem maturum an-*

nis, spectatum bello, sed vetere atque insita Claudiae familiae superbia; multaque indicia saevitiae, quamquam premantur, erumpere. Hunc et prima ab infantia eductum in domo regnatrice; congestos juveni consulatus, triumphos; ne iis quidem annis, quibus Rhodi specie secessus exsulem egerit, aliquid quam iram et simulationem et secretas libidines meditatum. Adcedere matrem muliebri inpotentia: serviendum feminae duobusque insuper adolescentibus, qui rem publicam interim premant, quandoque distrahant.

V. Haec atque talia agitantibus gravescere valetudo Augusti; et quidam scelus uxoris suspectabant. Quippe rumor incesserat, paucos ante menses Augustum, electis consciis et comite uno, Fabio Maximo, Planasiam vectum ad visendum Agrippam; multas illic utrimque lacrimas et signa caritatis, spemque ex eo fore ut juvenis penatibus avi redderetur: quod Maximum uxori Marciae aperuisse, illam Liviae: gnarum id Caesari: neque multo post exstincto Maximo, (dubium an quaesita morte,) auditos in funere ejus Marciae gemitus semet incusantis, *quod causa exitii marito fuisset.* Utcumque se ea res habuit, vixdum ingressus Illyricum Tiberius properis matris literis accitur: neque satis conpertum est, spirantem adhuc Augustum apud urbem Nolam an exanimem reppererit: acribus namque custodiis domum et vias sepserat Livia; laetique interdum nuntii vulgabantur, donec provisis quae tempus monebat, simul excessisse Augustum et rerum potiri Neronem fama eadem tulit.

VI. Primum facinus novi principatus fuit Postumi

Agrippae caedes, quem ignarum inermumque, quamvis firmatus animo, centurio aegre confecit. Nihil de ea re Tiberius apud senatum disseruit: patris jussa simulabat, quibus praescripsisset tribuno custodiae adposito, *ne cunctaretur Agrippam morte adficere, quandoque ipse supremum diem explevisset.* Multa sine dubio saevaque Augustus de moribus adolescentis questus, ut exsilium ejus senatusconsulto sanciretur perfecerat: ceterum in nullius unquam suorum necem duravit, neque mortem nepoti pro securitate privigni inlatam credibile erat: propius vero, Tiberium ac Liviam, illum metu, hanc novercalibus odiis, suspecti et invisi juvenis caedem festinavisse. Nuntianti centurioni, ut mos militiae, *factum esse, quod imperasset, neque imperasse sese et rationem facti reddendam apud senatum*, respondit. Quod postquam Sallustius Crispus particeps secretorum (is ad tribunum miserat codicillos) conperit; metuens ne reus subderetur, juxta periculoso, ficta seu vera promeret, monuit Liviam, *ne arcana domus, ne consilia amicorum, ministeria militum vulgarentur: neve Tiberius vim principatus resolverit cuncta ad senatum vocando: eam conditionem esse imperandi, ut non aliter ratio constet quam si uni reddatur.*

VII. At Romae ruere in servitium consules, patres, eques: quanto quis inlustrior, tanto magis falsi ac festinantes vultuque conposito, ne laeti excessu principis, neu tristiores primordio, lacrimas, gaudium, questus, adulationem miscebant. Sextus Pompeius et Sextus Appuleius Consules primi in verba Tiberii Caesaris juravere: apudque eos Seius Strabo et Caius Turranius, ille praeto-

riarum cohortium praefectus, hic annonae: mox senatus, milesque et populus. Nam Tiberius cuncta per consules incipiebat, tamquam vetere re publica et ambiguus imperandi. Ne edictum quidem, quo patres in curiam vocabat, nisi tribuniciae potestatis praescriptione posuit sub Augusto adceptae: verba edicti fuere pauca et sensu permodesto: *de honoribus parentis consulturum; neque abscedere a corpore; idque unum ex publicis muneribus usurpare.* Sed defuncto Augusto signum praetoriis cohortibus ut imperator dederat; excubiae, arma, cetera aulae; miles in forum, miles in curiam comitabatur: literas ad exercitus tamquam adepto principatu misit, nusquam cunctabundus, nisi cum in Senatu loqueretur. Causa praecipua ex formidine, ne Germanicus, in cujus manu tot legiones, inmensa sociorum auxilia, mirus apud populum favor, habere imperium quam exspectare mallet. Dabat et famae, ut vocatus electusque potius a republica videretur, quam per uxorium ambitum et senili adoptione inrepsisse. Postea cognitum est, ad introspiciendas etiam procerum voluntates inductam dubitationem: nam verba, vultus, in crimen detorquens, recondebat.

VIII. Nihil primo senatus die agi passus nisi de supremis Augusti; cujus testamentum, inlatum per virgines Vestae, Tiberium et Liviam heredes habuit. Livia in familiam Juliam nomenque Augustae adsumebatur, in spem secundam, nepotes pronepotesque; tertio gradu primores civitatis scripserat, plerosque invisos sibi, sed jactantia gloriaque ad posteros. Legata non ultra civilem modum, nisi quod populo et plebi quadringenties tricies quinquies, praetoriarum cohortium militibus singula num-

num milia, legionariis trecenos, cohortibus civium Romanorum quingenos nummos viritim dedit. Tum consultatum de honoribus; ex quîs maxime insignes visi: *ut porta triumphali duceretur funus*, Gallus Asinius; *ut legum latarum tituli, victarum ab eo gentium vocabula anteferrentur*, L. Arruntius censuere: addebat Messala Valerius, *renovandum per annos sacramentum in nomen Tiberii:* interrogatusque a Tiberio, *num se mandante eam sententiam prompsisset, sponte dixisse*, respondit, *neque in iis, quae ad rem publicam pertinerent, consilio nisi suo usurum, vel cum periculo offensionis:* ea sola species adulandi supererat. Conclamant patres, *corpus ad rogum humeris senatorum ferendum.* Remisit Caesar adroganti moderatione; populumque edicto monuit, *ne, ut quondam nimiis studiis funus divi Julii turbassent, ita Augustum in foro potius quam in campo Martis, sede destinata, cremari vellent.* Die funeris milites velut praesidio stetere, multum inridentibus qui ipsi viderant quique a parentibus acceperant diem illum crudi adhuc servitii et libertatis inprospere repetitae, cum occisus dictator Caesar aliis pessimum, aliis pulcerrimum facinus videretur: nunc senem principem, longa potentia, provisis etiam heredum in rem publicam opibus, auxilio scilicet militari tuendum, ut sepultura ejus quieta foret.

IX. Multus hinc ipso de Augusto sermo, plerisque vana mirantibus: *quod idem dies accepti quondam imperii princeps et vitae supremus; quod Nolae in domo et cubiculo, in quo pater ejus Octavius, vitam finivisset: numerus etiam consulatuum celebrabatur, quo Valerium Corvum et C. Marium simul aequaverat; continuata*

per septem et triginta annos tribunicia potestas; nomen imperatoris semel atque vicies partum; aliaque honorum multiplicata aut nova. At apud prudentes vita ejus varie extollebatur arguebaturve. Hi, *pietate erga parentem et necessitudine rei publicae, in qua nullus tunc legibus locus, ad arma civilia actum, quae neque parari possent neque haberi per bonas artes: multa Antonio, dum interfectores patris ulcisceretur, multa Lepido concessisse: postquam hic socordia senuerit, ille per libidines pessum datus sit, non aliud discordantis patriae remedium fuisse quam ut ab uno regeretur. Non regno tamen neque dictatura, sed principis nomine constitutam rem publicam: mari oceano aut amnibus longinquis septum imperium: legiones, provincias, classes, cuncta inter se connexa: jus apud cives, modestiam apud socios: urbem ipsam magnifico ornatu; pauca admodum vi tractata, quo ceteris quies esset.*

X. Dicebatur contra, *pietatem erga parentem et tempora rei publicae obtentui sumpta: ceterum cupidine dominandi concitos per largitionem veteranos, paratum ab adolescente privato exercitum, conruptas consulis legiones, simulatam Pompeianarum gratiam partium; mox ubi decreto patrum fasces et jus praetoris invaserit, caesis Hirtio et Pansa, (sive hostis illos, seu Pansam venenum vulneri adfusum, sui milites Hirtium et machinator doli Caesar abstulerat,) utriusque copias occupavisse: extortum invito senatu consulatum, armaque quae in Antonium adceperit, contra rem publicam versa; proscriptionem civium, divisiones agrorum, ne ipsis quidem qui fecere laudatas. Sane Casii et Brutorum exitus*

paternis inimicitiis datos, (quamquam fas sit privata odia publicis utilitatibus remittere;) sed Pompeium imagine pacis, sed Lepidum specie amicitiae deceptos: post Antonium, Tarentino Brundisinoque foedere et nuptiis sororis inlectum, subdolae adfinitatis poenas morte exsolvisse. Pacem sine dubio post haec, verum cruentam: Lollianas, Varianasque clades; interfectos Romae Varrones, Egnatios, Julios. Nec domesticis abstinebatur. *Abducta Neroni uxor, et consulti per ludibrium pontifices, an concepto necdum edito partu rite nuberet: Q. Tedii et Vedii Pollionis luxus: postremo Livia, gravis in rem publicam mater, gravis domui Caesarum noverca. Nihil deorum honoribus relictum, cum se templis et effigie numinum per flamines et sacerdotes coli vellet. Ne Tiberium quidem caritate aut rei publicae cura successorem adscitum: sed quoniam adrogantiam saevitiamque ejus introspexerit, conparatione deterrima sibi gloriam quaesivisse.* Etenim Augustus, paucis ante annis, cum Tiberio tribuniciam potestatem a patribus rursum postularet, quamquam honora oratione, quaedam de habitu cultuque et institutis ejus jecerat, quae velut excusando exprobraret.

XI. Ceterum sepultura more perfecta, templum et caelestes religiones decernuntur. Versae inde ad Tiberium preces. Et ille varie disserebat, de magnitudine imperii, sua modestia; *solam divi Augusti mentem tantae molis capacem; se in partem curarum ab illo vocatum experiendo didicisse, quam arduum, quam subjectum fortunae regendi cuncta onus: proinde in civitate tot inlustribus viris subnixa non ad unum omnia deferrent: plures*

facilius munia rei publicae sociatis laboribus exsecuturos. Plus in oratione tali dignitatis quam fidei erat: Tiberioque etiam in rebus quas non occuleret, seu natura sive adsuetudine, suspensa semper et obscura verba; tunc vero nitenti ut sensus suos penitus abderet, in incertum et ambiguum magis inplicabantur. At patres, quibus unus metus, si intelligere viderentur, in questus, lacrimas, vota effundi; ad deos, ad effigiem Augusti, ad genua ipsius manus tendere, cum proferri libellum recitarique jussit. Opes publicae continebantur, quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia, et necessitates ac largitiones: quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat Augustus addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam.

XII. Inter quae senatu ad infimas obtestationes procumbente, dixit forte Tiberius *se, ut non toti rei publicae parem, ita quaecumque pars sibi mandaretur, ejus tutelam suscepturum.* Tum Asinius Gallus, *Interrogo,* inquit, *Caesar, quam partem rei publicae mandari tibi velis.* Perculsus inprovisa interrogatione, paulum reticuit: dein collecto animo respondit, *nequaquam decorum pudori suo legere aliquid aut evitare ex eo, cui in universum excusari mallet.* Rursum Gallus; (etenim vultu offensionem conjectaverat) *non idcirco interrogatum,* ait, *ut divideret quae separari nequirent, sed ut sua confessione argueretur unum esse rei publicae corpus atque unius animo regendum:* addidit laudem de Augusto, Tiberiumque ipsum victoriarum suarum, quaeque in toga per tot annos egregie fecisset, admonuit. Nec

ideo iram ejus lenivit, pridem invisus, tamquam ducta in matrimonium Vipsania M. Agrippae filia, quae quondam Tiberii uxor fuerat, plus quam civilia agitaret, Pollionisque Asinii patris ferociam retineret.

XIII. Post quae L. Arruntius, haud multum discrepans a Galli oratione, perinde offendit, quamquam Tiberio nulla vetus in Arruntium ira; sed divitem, promptum, artibus egregiis et pari fama publice, suspectabat. Quippe Augustus, supremis sermonibus cum tractaret, quinam adipisci principem locum subfecturi abnuerent, aut inpares vellent, vel iidem possent cuperentque, *M. Lepidum* dixerat *capacem sed adspernantem; Gallum Asinium avidum et minorem, L. Arruntium non indignum, et si casus daretur, ausurum.* De prioribus consentitur: pro Arruntio quidam Cn. Pisonem tradidere; omnesque praeter Lepidum variis mox criminibus struente Tiberio circumventi sunt. Etiam Q. Haterius et Mamercus Scaurus suspicacem animum perstrinxere; Haterius, cum dixisset, *Quousque patieris, Caesar, non adesse caput rei publicae?* Scaurus, quia dixerat, *spem esse ex eo, non inritas fore senatus preces, quod relationi consulum jure tribuniciae potestatis non intercessisset.* In Haterium statim invectus est; Scaurum, cui inplacabilius irascebatur, silentio tramisit: fessusque clamore omnium, expostulatione singulorum, flexit paulatim, non ut fateretur suscipi a se imperium, sed ut negare et rogari desineret. Constat Haterium, cum deprecandi causa palatium introisset, ambulantisque Tiberii genua advolveretur, prope a militibus interfectum, quia Tiberius, casu an manibus ejus inpeditus, prociderat: neque tamen

periculo talis viri mitigatus est, donec Haterius Augustam oraret, ejusque curatissimis precibus protegeretur.

XIV. Multa patrum et in Augustam adulatio. Alii *parentem*, alii *matrem patriae adpellandam;* plerique, *ut nomini Caesaris adscriberetur Juliae filius* censebant: ille *moderandos feminarum honores* dictitans, *eademque se temperantia usurum in iis, quae sibi tribuerentur:* ceterum anxius invidia et muliebre fastigium in deminutionem sui adcipiens ne lictorem quidem ei decerni passus est, aramque adoptionis et alia hujuscemodi prohibuit. At Germanico Caesari proconsulare imperium petivit, missique legati qui deferrent, simul maestitiam ejus ob excessum Augusti solarentur: quo minus idem pro Druso postularetur, ea causa, quod designatus consul Drusus praesensque erat. Candidatos praeturae duodecim nominavit, numerum ab Augusto traditum: et hortante senatu ut augeret, jurejurando obstrinxit se non excessurum.

XV. Tum primum e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt: nam ad eam diem, etsi potissima arbitrio principis, quaedam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant: neque populus ademptum jus questus est nisi inani rumore; et senatus, largitionibus ac precibus sordidis exsolutus, libens tenuit, moderante Tiberio ne plures quam quattuor candidatos conmendaret sine repulsa et ambitu designandos. Inter quae Tribuni plebei petivere ut proprio sumptu ederent ludos, qui de nomine Augusti, fastis additi, Augustales vocarentur: sed decreta pecunia ex aerario, utque per circum triumphali veste uterentur: curru vehi haud permissum: mox celebratio annua ad

praetorem translata, cui inter cives et peregrinos jurisdictio evenisset.

XVI. Hic rerum urbanarum status erat, cum Pannonicas legiones seditio incessit, nullis novis causis, nisi quod mutatus princeps licentiam turbarum et ex civili bello spem praemiorum ostendebat. Castris aestivis tres simul legiones habebantur, praesidente Junio Blaeso; qui fine Augusti et initiis Tiberii auditis ob justitium [aut gaudium] intermiserat solita munia. Eo principio lascivire miles, discordare, pessimi cujusque sermonibus praebere aures, denique luxum et otium cupere, disciplinam et laborem adspernari. Erat in castris Percennius quidam, dux olim theatralium operarum, dein gregarius miles, procax lingua et miscere coetus histrionali studio doctus. Is inperitos animos, et quaenam post Augustum militiae conditio ambigentes, inpellere paulatim nocturnis conloquiis aut flexo in vesperam die, et dilapsis melioribus deterrimum quemque congregare. Postremo, promptis jam et aliis seditionis ministris, velut contionabundus interrogabat:

XVII. *Cur paucis centurionibus, paucioribus tribunis, in modum servorum obedirent? quando ausuros exposcere remedia, nisi novum et nutantem adhuc principem precibus vel armis adirent? satis per tot annos ignavia peccatum, quod tricena aut quadragena stipendia senes, et plerique truncato ex vulneribus corpore, tolerent: ne dimissis quidem finem esse militiae, sed apud vexillum retentos alio vocabulo eosdem labores perferre. Ac si quis tot casus vita superaverit, trahi adhuc diversas in terras, ubi per nomen agrorum uligines paludum vel inculta*

montium adcipiant. Enimvero militiam ipsam gravem, infructuosam: denis in diem assibus animam et corpus aestimari: hinc vestem, arma, tentoria, hinc saevitiam centurionum et vacationes munerum redimi. At hercule verbera et vulnera, duram hiemem, exercitas aestates, bellum atrox aut sterilem pacem sempiterna: nec aliud levamentum quam si certis sub legibus militia iniretur, ut singulos denarios mererent, sextus decumus stipendii annus finem adferret; ne ultra sub vexillis tenerentur, sed iisdem in castris praemium pecunia solveretur. An praetorias cohortes, quae binos denarios adceperint, quae post sedecim annos penatibus suis reddantur, plus periculorum suscipere? Non obtrectari a se urbanas excubias: sibi tamen apud horridas gentes e contuberniis hostem adspici.

XVIII. Adstrepebat vulgus, diversis incitamentis; hi verberum notas, illi canitiem, plurimi detrita tegmina et nudum corpus exprobrantes. Postremo eo furoris venere, ut tres legiones miscere in unam agitaverint: depulsi aemulatione, quia suae quisque legioni eum honorem quaerebant, alio vertunt, atque una tres aquilas et signa cohortium locant: simul congerunt cespites, exstruunt tribunal, quo magis conspicua sedes foret. Properantibus Blaesus advenit, increpabatque ac retinebat singulos, clamitans: *Mea potius caede imbuite manus; leviore flagitio legatum interficietis quam ab imperatore desciscitis: aut incolumis fidem legionum retinebo, aut jugulatus poenitentiam adcelerabo.*

XIX. Adgerebatur nihilominus cespes, jamque pectori usque adcreverat, cum tandem pervicacia victi in-

ceptum omisere. Blaesus multa dicendi arte, *Non per seditionem et turbas desideria militum ad Caesarem ferenda,* ait: *neque veteres ab imperatoribus priscis neque ipsos a divo Augusto tam nova petivisse; et parum in tempore incipientis principis curas onerari. Si tamen tenderent in pace temptare quae ne civilium quidem bellorum victores expostulaverint, cur contra morem obsequii, contra fas disciplinae vim meditentur? decernerent legatos, seque coram mandata darent.* Adclamavere, *ut filius Blaesi tribunus legatione ea fungeretur, peteretque militibus missionem ab sedecim annis: cetera mandaturos ubi prima provenissent.* Profecto juvene, modicum otium; sed superbire miles, quod filius legati orator publicae causae satis ostenderet necessitate expressa quae per modestiam non obtinuissent.

XX. Interea manipuli ante coeptam seditionem Nauportum missi ob itinera et pontes et alios usus, postquam turbatum in castris adcepere, vexilla convellunt, direptisque proximis vicis ipsoque Nauporto, quod municipii instar erat, retinentis centuriones inrisu et contumeliis, postremo verberibus insectantur; praecipua in Aufidienum Rufum praefectum castrorum ira, quem dereptum vehiculo sarcinis gravant aguntque primo in agmine, per ludibrium rogitantes: *an tam inmensa onera, tam longa itinera libenter ferret?* Quippe Rufus diu manipularis, dein centurio, mox castris praefectus, antiquam duramque militiam revocabat, intentus operis ac laboris, et eo inmitior quia toleraverat.

XXI. Horum adventu redintegratur seditio, et vagi circumjecta populabantur. Blaesus paucos, maxime

praeda onustos, ad terrorem ceterorum adfici verberibus, claudi carcere jubet: nam etiam tum legato a centurionibus et optimo quoque manipularium parebatur. Illi obniti trahentibus, prensare circumstantium genua, ciere modo nomina singulorum, modo centuriam quisque cujus manipularis erat, cohortem, legionem, *eadem omnibus inminere* clamitantes; simul probra in legatum cumulant, caelum ac deos obtestantur; nihil reliqui faciunt quo minus invidiam, misericordiam, metum et iras permoverent. Adcurritur ab universis, et carcere effracto solvunt vincula, desertoresque ac rerum capitalium damnatos sibi jam miscent.

XXII. Flagrantior inde vis, plures seditioni duces: et Vibulenus quidam, gregarius miles, ante tribunal Blaesi adlevatus circumstantium humeris, apud turbatos, et, quid pararet, intentos: *Vos quidem*, inquit, *his innocentibus et miserrimis lucem et spiritum reddidistis: sed quis fratri meo vitam, quis fratrem mihi reddit? quem missum ad vos a Germanico exercitu de communibus commodis nocte proxima jugulavit per gladiatores suos, quos in exitium militum habet atque armat. Responde, Blaese, ubi cadaver abjeceris? ne hostes quidem sepultura invident: cum osculis, cum lacrimis dolorem meum inplevero, me quoque trucidari jube, dum interfectos nullum ob scelus, sed quia utilitati legionum consulebamus, hi sepeliant.*

XXIII. Incendebat haec fletu et pectus atque os manibus verberans: mox disjectis quorum per humeros sustinebatur, praeceps et singulorum pedibus advolutus tantum consternationis invidiaeque concivit, ut pars mili-

tum gladiatores, qui e servitio Blaesi erant, pars ceteram ejusdem familiam vincirent, alii ad quaerendum corpus effunderenter: ac ni propere neque corpus ullum reperiri, et servos adhibitis cruciatibus abnuere caedem, neque illi fuisse unquam fratrem pernotuisset, haud multum ab exitio legati aberant. Tribunos tamen ac praefectum castrorum extrusere: sarcinae fugientium direptae: et centurio Lucilius interficitur, cui militaribus facetiis vocabulam *Cedo alteram* indiderant; quia, fracta vite in tergo militis, alteram clara voce ac rursus aliam poscebat. Ceteros latebrae texere, uno retento Clemente Julio, qui perferendis militum mandatis habebatur idoneus ob promptum ingenium. Quin ipsae inter se legiones octava et quinta decuma ferrum parabant dum centurionem cognomento Sirpicum illa morti deposcit, quintadecumani tuentur, ni miles nonanus preces et adversum aspernantis minas interjecisset.

XXIV. Haec audita quamquam abstrusum et tristissima quaeque maxime occultantem Tiberium perpulere ut Drusum filium cum primoribus civitatis duabusque praetoriis cohortibus mitteret, nullis satis certis mandatis, ex re consulturum. Et cohortes delecto milite supra solitum firmatae. Additur magna pars praetoriani equitis et robora Germanorum, qui tum custodes imperatori aderant: simul praetorii praefectus Aelius Sejanus, conlega Straboni patri suo datus, magna apud Tiberium auctoritate, rector juveni, et ceteris periculorum praemiorumque ostentator. Druso propinquanti quasi per officium obviae fuere legiones, non laetae, ut adsolet, neque insignibus fulgentes, sed inluvie deformi et

vultu, quamquam maestitiam imitarentur, contumaciae propiores.

XXV. Postquam vallum introiit, portas stationibus firmant, globos armatorum certis castrorum locis opperiri jubent: ceteri tribunal ingenti agmine circumveniunt. Stabat Drusus, silentium manu poscens: illi, quotiens oculos ad multitudinem rettulerant, vocibus truculentis strepere; rursum viso Caesare trepidare; murmur incertum, atrox clamor, et repente quies; diversis animorum motibus pavebant terrebantque. Tandem, interrupto tumultu, litteras patris recitat, in quîs perscriptum erat: *Praecipuam ipsi fortissimarum legionum curam, quibuscum plurima bella toleravisset; ubi primum a luctu requiesset animus, acturum apud patres de postulatis eorum; misisse interim filium ut sine cunctatione concederet quae statim tribui possent; cetera senatui servanda, quem neque gratiae neque severitatis expertem haberi par esset.*

XXVI. Responsum est a contione *mandata Clementi centurioni, quae perferret.* Is orditur *de missione a sedecim annis: de praemiis finitae militiae: ut denarius diurnum stipendium foret; ne veterani sub vexillo haberenter.* Ad ea Drusus, cum arbitrium senatus et patris obtenderet, clamore turbatur: *Cur venisset, neque augendis militum stipendiis, neque adlevandis laboribus, denique nulla bene faciendi licentia? at hercule verbera et necem cunctis permitti. Tiberium olim nomine Augusti desideria legionum frustrari solitum: easdem artes Drusum rettulisse: namquamne nisi ad se filios familiarum venturos? novum id plane, quod imperator sola*

militis commoda ad senatum rejiciat: eundem ergo senatum consulendum, quotiens supplicia aut proelia indicantur: an praemia sub dominis, poenas sine arbitro esse?

XXVII. Postremo deserunt tribunal: ut quis praetorianorum militum amicorumve Caesaris obcurreret, manus intentantes, causam discordiae et initium armorum; maxime infensi Cn. Lentulo, quod is, ante alios aetate et gloria belli, firmare Drusum credebatur, et illa militiae flagitia primus adspernari. Nec multo post digredientem cum Caesare ac provisu periculi hiberna castra repetentem circumsistunt, rogitantes, *quo pergeret? ad imperatorem an ad patres? ut illic quoque commodis legionum adversaretur?* Simul ingruunt, saxa jaciunt: jamque lapidis ictu cruentus et exitii certus, adcursu multitudinis, quae cum Druso advenerat, protectus est.

XXVIII. Noctem minacem et in scelus erupturam fors lenivit; nam luna claro repente caelo visa languescere. Id miles rationis ignarus omen praesentium adcepit, ac suis laboribus defectionem sideris adsimulans, *prospereque cessura quae pergerent, si fulgor et claritudo deae redderetur:* igitur aeris sono, tubarum cornuumque concentu strepere; prout splendidior obscuriorve, laetari aut maerere; et postquam ortae nubes obfecere visui creditumque conditam tenebris, ut sunt mobiles ad superstitionem perculsae semel mentes, *sibi aeternum laborem portendi, sua facinora aversari deos* lamentantur. Utendum inclinatione ea Caesar, et quae casus obtulerat in sapientiam vertenda ratus, circumiri tentoria jubet. Ad-

citur centurio Clemens, et si alii bonis artibus grati in vulgus: hi vigiliis, stationibus, custodiis portarum se inserunt, spem obferunt, metum intendunt. *Quousque filium imperatoris obsidebimus? quis certaminum finis? Percennione et Vibuleno sacramentum dicturi sumus? Percennius et Vibulenus stipendia militibus, agros emeritis largientur? denique pro Neronibus et Drusis imperium populi Romani capessent? quin potius, ut novissimi in culpam, ita primi ad poenitentiam sumus? Tarda sunt quae in commune expostulantur: privatam gratiam statim mereare, statim recipias.* Conmotis per haec mentibus et inter se suspectis, tironem a veterano, legionem a legione dissociant. Tum redire paulatim amor obsequii; omittunt portas, signa unum in locum principio seditionis congregata suas in sedes referunt.

XXIX. Drusus, orto die et vocata contione, quamquam rudis dicendi nobilitate ingenita incusat priora, probat praesentia: negat *se terrore et minis vinci: flexos ad modestiam si videat, si supplices audiat, scripturum patri, ut placatus legionum preces exciperet:* orantibus, rursum idem Blaesus et L. Apronius, eques Romanus e cohorte Drusi, Justusque Catonius primi ordinis centurio, ad Tiberium mittuntur. Certatum inde sententiis, cum alii *opperiendos legatos atque interim comitate permulcendum militem* censerent; alii *fortioribus remediis agendum: nihil in vulgo modicum; terrere, ni paveant; ubi pertimuerint, inpune contemni; dum superstitio urgeat, adjiciendos ex duce metus, sublatis seditionis auctoribus.* Promptum ad asperiora ingenium Druso erat: vocatos Vibulenum et Percennium interfici jubet. Tra-

dunt plerique intra tabernaculum ducis obrutos; alii corpora extra vallum abjecta ostentui.

XXX. Tum, ut quisque praecipuus turbator, conquisiti; et pars, extra castra palantes, a centurionibus aut praetoriarum cohortium militibus caesi: quosdam ipsi manipuli, documentum fidei, tradidere. Auxerat militum curas praematura hiems, imbribus continuis adeoque saevis, ut non egredi tentoria, congregari inter se, vix tutari signa possent, quae turbine atque unda raptabantur: durabat et formido caelestis irae, *nec frustra adversus inpios hebescere sidera, ruere tempestates: non aliud malorum levamentum, quam si linquerent castra infausta temerataque, et soluti piaculo suis quisque hibernis redderentur:* primum octava, dein quintadecuma legio rediere. Nonanus *opperiendas Tiberii epistolas* clamitaverat, mox desolatus aliorum discessione inminentem necessitatem sponte praevenit: et Drusus, non exspectato legatorum regressu, quia praesentia satis consederant, in urbem rediit.

XXXI. Iisdem ferme diebus, iisdem causis Germanicae legiones turbatae, quanto plures, tanto violentius, et magna spe fore ut Germanicus Caesar imperium alterius pati nequiret, daretque se legionibus vi sua cuncta tracturis. Duo apud ripam Rheni exercitus erant: cui nomen superiori, sub C. Silio legato; inferiorem A. Caecina curabat. Regimen summae rei penes Germanicum, agendo Galliarum censui tum intentum. Sed quibus Silius moderabatur, mente ambigua fortunam seditionis alienae speculabantur: inferioris exercitus miles in rabiem prolapsus est, orto ab unaetvicesimanis

quintanisque initio, et tractis prima quoque ac vicesima legionibus; nam iisdem aestivis in finibus Ubiorum habebantur per otium aut levia munia. Igitur, audito fine Augusti, vernacula multitudo, nuper acto in urbe delectu, lasciviae sueta, laborum intolerans, inpellere ceterorum rudes animos: *venisse tempus, quo veterani maturam missionem, juvenes largiora stipendia, cuncti modum miseriarum exposcerent, saevitiamque centurionum ulciscerentur.* Non unus haec, ut Pannonicas inter legiones Percennius, nec apud trepidas militum aures alios validiores exercitus respicientium, sed multa seditionis ora vocesque: *sua in manu sitam rem Romanam; suis victoriis augeri rem publicam; in suum cognomentum adscisci imperatores.*

XXXII. Nec legatus obviam ibat: quippe plurium vecordia constantiam exemerat. Repente lymphati destrictis gladiis in centuriones invadunt: ea vetustissima militaribus odiis materies, et saeviendi principium. Prostratos verberibus mulcant, sexageni singulos, ut numerum centurionum adaequarent. Tum convulsos laniatosque et partim exanimos ante vallum aut in amnem Rhenum projiciunt. Septimius cum perfugisset ad tribunal, pedibusque Caecinae advolveretur, eo usque flagitatus est donec ad exitium dederetur. Cassius Chaerea mox caede C. Caesaris memoriam apud posteros adeptus, tum adolescens et animi ferox, inter obstantes et armatos ferro viam patefecit. Non tribunus ultra, non castrorum praefectus jus obtinuit: vigilias, stationes, et si qua alia praesens usus indixerat, ipsi partiebantur. Id, militares animos altius conjectantibus, praecipuum

indicium magni atque inplacabilis motus, quod neque disjecti, nec paucorum instinctu, sed pariter ardescerent, pariter silerent; tanta aequalitate et constantia, ut regi crederes.

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XXXIV. Sed Germanicus, quanto summae spei propior, tanto inpensius pro Tiberio niti. Sequanos proximos et Belgarum civitates in verba ejus adigit. Dehinc, audito legionum tumultu, raptim profectus obvias extra castra habuit, dejectis in terram oculis velut poenitentia. Postquam vallum iniit dissoni questus audiri coepere: et quidam prensa manu ejus per speciem exosculandi inseruerunt digitos, ut vacua dentibus ora contingeret, alii curvata senio membra ostendebant. Adsistentem contionem, quia permixta videbatur, *discedere in manipulos* jubet: *sic melius audituros responsum; vexilla*

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praeferri, ut id saltem discerneret cohortes: tarde obtemperavere. Tunc *a veneratione Augusti* orsus flexit ad *victorias triumphosque Tiberii,* praecipuis laudibus celebrans *quae apud Germanias illis cum legionibus pulcerrima fecisset. Italiae* inde *consensum, Galliarum fidem* extollit; *nil usquam turbidum aut discors.*

XXXV. Silentio haec vel murmure modico audita sunt. Ut seditionem adtigit, *ubi modestia militaris, ubi veteris disciplinae decus, quonam tribunos, quo centuriones exegissent,* rogitans, nudant universi corpora, *cicatrices ex vulneribus, verberum notas* exprobrant; mox indiscretis vocibus *pretia vacationum, angustias stipendii, duritiam operum,* ac propriis nominibus incusant *vallum, fossas, pabuli materiae lignorum adgestus,* et si qua alia ex necessitate aut adversus otium castrorum quaeruntur. Atrocissimus veteranorum clamor oriebatur; qui tricena aut supra stipendia numerantes, *mederetur fessis, neu mortem in iisdem laboribus, sed finem tam exercitae militiae, neque inopem requiem,* orabant. Fuere etiam qui legatam a divo Augusto pecuniam reposcerent, faustis in Germanicum ominibus; et, si vellet imperium, promptos ostentavere. Tum vero, quasi scelere contaminaretur, praeceps tribunali desiluit: obposuerunt abeunti arma, minitantes, ni regrederetur. At ille, *moriturum potius quam fidem exueret,* clamitans, ferrum a latere deripuit, elatumque deferebat in pectus, ni proximi prensam dextram vi adtinuissent. Extrema et conglobata inter se pars contionis, ac vix credibile dictu, quidam singuli propius incedentes *feriret* hortabantur; et miles nomine Calusidius strictum obtulit gladium, addito *acutiorem esse.*

Saevum id malique moris etiam furentibus visum; ac spatium fuit, quo Caesar ab amicis in tabernaculum raperetur.

XXXVI. Consultatum ibi de remedio: etenim nuntiabatur *parari legatos qui superiorem exercitum ad causam eandem traherent; destinatum excidio Ubiorum oppidum; inbutasque praeda manus in direptionem Galliarum erupturas.* Augebat metum gnarus Romanae seditionis, et, si omitteretur ripa, invasurus hostis; at, si auxilia et socii adversum abscedentis legiones armarentur, civile bellum suscipi: periculosa severitas, flagitiosa largitio; seu nihil militi sive omnia concederentur, in ancipiti res publica. Igitur volutatis inter se rationibus, placitum ut epistolae nomine principis scriberentur: *missionem dari vicena stipendia meritis; exauctorari qui senadena fecissent, ac retineri sub vexillo, ceterorum inmunes, nisi propulsandi hostis: legata quae petiverant, exsolvi duplicarique.*

XXXVII. Sensit miles in tempus conficta, statimque flagitavit. Missio per tribunos maturatur: largitio differebatur in hiberna cujusque. Non abscessere quintani unaetvicesimanique, donec iisdem in aestivis contracta ex viatico amicorum ipsiusque Caesaris pecunia persolveretur. Primam ac vicesimam legiones Caecina legatus in civitatem Ubiorum reduxit, turpi agmine, cum fisci de imperatore rapti inter signa interque aquilas veherentur. Germanicus superiorem ad exercitum profectus, secundam et tertiamdecumam et sextamdecumam legiones nihil cunctatas sacramento adigit. Quartadecumani paulum dubitaverant; pecunia et missio quamvis non flagitantibus oblata est.

XXXVIII. At in Caucis coeptavere seditionem praesidium agitantes vexillarii discordium legionum, et praesenti duorum militum supplicio paulum repressi sunt. Jusserat id Mennius castrorum praefectus, bono magis exemplo quam concesso jure: deinde, intumescente motu, profugus repertusque, postquam intutae latebrae, praesidium ab audacia mutuatur: *non praefectum ab iis, sed Germanicum ducem, sed Tiberium imperatorem violari.* Simul exterritis qui obstiterant, raptum vexillum ad ripam vertit, et *si quis agmine decessisset, pro desertore fore* clamitans, reduxit in hiberna turbidos et nihil ausos.

XXXIX. Interea legati ab senatu regressum jam apud aram Ubiorum Germanicum adeunt. Duae ibi legiones, prima atque vicesima, veteranique nuper missi sub vexillo hiemabant. Pavidos et conscientia vecordes intrat metus, venisse patrum jussu, qui inrita facerent quae per seditionem expresserant. Utque mos vulgo, quamvis falsis reum subdere, Munatium Plancum, consulatu functum, principem legationis, auctorem senatusconsulti incusant; et nocte concubia vexillum in domo Germanici situm flagitare obcipiunt, concursuque ad januam facto moliuntur fores; extractum cubili Caesarem tradere vexillum intento mortis metu subigunt. Mox vagi per vias obvios habuere legatos, audita consternatione ad Germanicum tendentes. Ingerunt contumelias, caedem parant, Planco maxime, quem dignitas fugà inpediverat. Neque aliud periclitanti subsidium quam castra primae legionis: illic signa et aquilam amplexus religione sese tutabatur; ac, ni aquilifer Calpurnius vim

extremam arcuisset, (rarum etiam inter hostes,) legatus populi Romani, Romanis in castris, sanguine suo altaria deum conmaculavisset. Luce demum, postquam dux et miles et facta noscebantur, ingressus castra Germanicus perduci ad se Plancum imperat, recepitque in tribunal. Tum *fatalem* increpans *rabiem, neque militum, sed deum ira resurgere,* cur venerint legati aperit: *jus legationis, atque ipsius Planci gravem et inmeritum casum,* simul *quantum dedecoris adierit legio,* facunde miseratur, adtonitaque magis quam quieta contione, legatos praesidio auxiliarium equitum dimittit.

XL. Eo in metu arguere Germanicum omnes, *quod non ad superiorem exercitum pergeret, ubi obsequia et contra rebelles auxilium. Satis superque missione et pecunia et mollibus consultis peccatum: vel si vilis ipsi salus, cur filium parvulum, cur gravidam conjugem inter furentes et omnis humani juris violatores haberet? illos saltem avo et rei publicae redderet.* Diu cunctatus, adspernantem uxorem, cum *se divo Augusto ortam neque degenerem ad pericula* testaretur, postremo uterum ejus et communem filium multo cum fletu conplexus, ut abiret perpulit. Incedebat muliebre et miserabile agmen; profuga ducis uxor, parvulum sinu filium gerens, lamentantes circum amicorum conjuges quae simul trahebantur; nec minus tristes qui manebant.

XLI. Non florentis Caesaris, neque suis in castris, sed velut in urbe victa, facies, gemitusque ac planctus etiam militum aures oraque advertere. Progrediuntur contuberniis: *quis ille flebilis sonus? quid tam triste? feminas inlustres — non centurionem ad tutelam, non*

militem, nihil imperatoriae uxoris aut comitatus soliti — pergere ad Treveros et externae fidei! Pudor inde et miseratio, et patris Agrippae, Augusti avi, memoria; socer Drusus; ipsa insigni fecunditate, praeclara pudicitia; jam infans in castris genitus, in contubernio legionum eductus, quem militari vocabulo *Caligulam* adpellabant, quia plerumque ad concilianda vulgi studia eo tegmine pedum induebatur. Sed nihil aeque flexit quam invidia in Treveros: orant, obsistunt, *rediret, maneret*, pars Agrippinae obcursantes, plurimi ad Germanicum regressi: isque, ut erat recens dolore et ira, apud circumfusos ita coepit:—

XLII. *Non mihi uxor aut filius patre et re publica cariores sunt: sed illum quidem sua majestas, imperium Romanum ceteri exercitus defendent. Conjugem et liberos meos, quos pro gloria vestra libens ad exitium obferrem, nunc procul a furentibus submoveo, ut, quidquid istuc sceleris inminet, meo tantum sanguine pietur; neve obcisus Augusti pronepos, interfecta Tiberii nurus, nocentiores vos faciat: quid enim per hos dies inausum intemeratumve vobis? Quod nomen huic coetui dabo?* militesne *adpellem? qui filium imperatoris vestri vallo et armis circumsedistis. An* cives? *quibus tam projecta senatus auctoritas: hostium quoque jus et sacra legationis et fas gentium rupistis. Divus Julius seditionem exercitus verbo uno compescuit,* Quirites *vocando qui sacramentum ejus detrectabant. Divus Augustus vultu et adspectu Actiacas legiones exterruit: nos, ut nondum eosdem, ita ex illis ortos, si Hispaniae Syriaeve miles adspernaretur, tamen mirum et indignum erat. Primane*

et vicesima legiones, illa signis a Tiberio adceptis, tu tot proeliorum socia, tot praemiis aucta, egregiam duci vestro gratiam refertis? hunc ego nuntium patri, laeta omnia aliis e provinciis audienti, feram? ipsius tirones, ipsius veteranos non missione, non pecunia satiatos: hic tantum interfici centuriones, ejici tribunos, includi legatos: infecta sanguine castra, flumina: meque precariam animam inter infensos trahere.

XLIII. *Cur enim primo contionis die ferrum illud, quod pectori meo infigere parabam, detraxistis? O inprovidi amici! melius et amantius ille, qui gladium obferebat. Cecidissem certe nondum tot flagitiorum exercitui meo conscius: legissetis ducem, qui meam quidem mortem inpunitam sineret, Vari tamen et trium legionum ulcisceretur. Neque enim dii sinant, ut Belgarum, quamquam obferentium, decus istud et claritudo sit, subvenisse Romano nomini, conpressisse Germaniae populos. Tua, dive Auguste, caelo recepta mens, tua, pater Druse, imago, tui memoria, iisdem istis cum militibus, quos jam pudor et gloria intrat, eluant hanc maculam, irasque civiles in exitium hostibus vertant! Vos quoque, quorum alia nunc ora, alia pectora contueor, si legatos senatui, obsequium imperatori, si mihi conjugem et filium redditis, discedite a contactu ac dividite turbidos: id stabile ad poenitentiam, id fidei vinculum erit.*

XLIV. Supplices ad haec, et vera exprobrari fatentes, orabant, *puniret noxios, ignosceret lapsis et duceret in hostem; revocaretur conjux, rediret legionum alumnus, neve obses Gallis traderetur.* Reditum Agrippinae excusavit ob inminentem partum et hiemem; *venturum fili-*

lium: cetera ipsi exsequerentur. Discurrunt mutati, et seditiosissimum quemque vinctos trahunt ad legatum legionis primae, C. Cetronium, qui judicium et poenas de singulis in hunc modum exercuit. Stabant pro contione legiones destrictis gladiis: reus in subgestu per tribunum ostendebatur: si *nocentem* adclamaverant, praeceps datus trucidabatur: et gaudebat caedibus miles, tamquam semet absolveret; nec Caesar arcebat, quando nullo ipsius jussu penes eosdem saevitia facti et invidia erat. Secuti exemplum veterani haud multo post in Raetiam mittuntur, specie defendendae provinciae ob inminentes Suevos; ceterum ut avellerentur castris trucibus adhuc non minus asperitate remedii quam sceleris memoria. Centurionatum inde egit: citatus ab imperatore, nomen, ordinem, patriam, numerum stipendiorum, quae strenue in proeliis fecisset, et cui erant dona militaria, edebat: si tribuni, si legio industriam innocentiamque adprobaverant, retinebat ordines: ubi avaritiam aut crudelitatem consensu objectavissent, solvebatur militia.

XLV. Sic conpositis praesentibus, haud minor moles supererat ob ferociam quintae et unaetvicesimae legionum, sexagesimum apud lapidem (loco *Vetera* nomen est) hibernantium. Nam primi seditionem coeptaverant; atrocissimum quodque facinus horum manibus patratum; nec poena conmilitonum exterriti, nec poenitentia conversi, iras retinebant. Igitur Caesar arma, classem, socios demittere Rheno parat, si imperium detrectetur, bello certaturus.

XLVI. At Romae, nondum cognito, qui fuisset exitus in Illyrico, et legionum Germanicarum motu audito,

trepida civitas incusare Tiberium, *quod, dum patres et plebem, invalida et inermia, cunctatione ficta ludificetur, dissideat interim miles, neque duorum adolescentium nondum adulta auctoritate conprimi queat: ire ipsum et obponere majestatem imperatoriam debuisse cessuris ubi principem longa experientia, eundumque severitatis et munificentiae summum vidissent. An Augustum, fessa aetate, totiens in Germanias conmeare potuisse: Tiberium, vigentem annis, sedere in senatu, verba patrum cavillantem? satis prospectum urbanae servituti: militaribus animis adhibenda fomenta, ut ferre pacem velint.*

XLVII. Inmotum adversus eos sermones fixumque Tiberio fuit non omittere caput rerum, neque se remque publicam in casum dare. Multa quippe et diversa angebant: *validior per Germaniam exercitus, propior apud Pannoniam: ille Galliarum opibus subnixus, hic Italiae inminens: quos igitur anteferret? ac ne postpositi contumelia incenderentur. At per filios pariter adiri, majestate salva; cui major e longinquo reverentia: simul adolescentibus excusatum quaedam ad patrem rejicere; resistentisque Germanico aut Druso posse a se mitigari vel infringi: quod aliud subsidium, si imperatorem sprevissent?* Ceterum, ut jam jamque iturus, legit comites, conquisivit inpedimenta, adornavit naves: mox hiemem aut negotia varie causatus, primo prudentes, dein vulgum, diutissime provincias fefellit.

XLVIII. At Germanicus, quamquam contracto exercitu, et parata in defectores ultione, dandum adhuc spatium ratus, si recenti exemplo sibi ipsi consulerent, praemittit litteras ad Caecinam, *venire se valida manu, ac,*

ni supplicium in malos praesumant, usurum promiscua caede. Eas Caecina aquiliferis signiferisque, et quod maxime castrorum sincerum erat, occulte recitat, *utque cunctos infamiae, se ipsos morti eximant,* hortatur: *nam in pace causas et merita spectari: ubi bellum ingruat, innocentes ac noxios juxta cadere.* Illi temptatis quos idoneos rebantur, postquam majorem legionum partem in officio vident, de sententia legati statuunt tempus, quo foedissimum quemque et seditioni promptum ferro invadant. Tunc, signo inter se dato, inrumpunt contubernia, trucidant ignaros: nullo, nisi consciis, noscente quod caedis initium, quis finis.

XLIX. Diversa omnium quae unquam adcidere civilium armorum facies: non proelio, non adversis e castris, sed iisdem e cubilibus, quos simul vescentis dies, simul quietos nox habuerat, discedunt in partes, ingerunt tela. Clamor, vulnera, sanguis palam; causa in occulto: cetera fors regit: et quidam bonorum caesi, postquam, intellecto in quos saeviretur, pessimi quoque arma rapuerant: neque legatus aut tribunus moderator adfuit: permissa vulgo licentia atque ultio et satietas. Mox ingressus castra Germanicus, *non medicinam illud,* plurimis cum lacrimis, *sed cladem* adpellans, *cremari corpora* jubet. Truces etiam tum animos cupido involat eundi in hostem, piaculum furoris: nec aliter posse placari conmilitonum manes, quam si pectoribus inpiis honesta vulnera adcepissent. Sequitur ardorem militum Caesar, junctoque ponte tramittit duodecim milia e legionibus, sex et viginti socias cohortes, octo equitum alas, quarum ea seditione intemerata modestia fuit.

L. Laeti, neque procul, Germani agitabant, dum justitio ob amissum Augustum post discordiis adtinemur. At Romanus agmine propero silvam Caesiam limitemque a Tiberio coeptum scindit; castra in limite locat; frontem ac tergum vallo, latera concaedibus munit. Inde saltus obscuros permeat, consultatque, *ex duobus itineribus breve et solitum sequatur, an inpeditius et intemptatum, eoque hostibus incautum.* Delecta longiore via, cetera adcelerantur: etenim adtulerant exploratores *festam eam Germanis noctem ac solennibus epulis ludicram.* Caecina cum expeditis cohortibus praeire, et obstantia silvarum amoliri jubetur: legiones modico intervallo sequuntur. Juvit nox sideribus inlustris: ventumque ad vicos Marsorum, et circumdatae stationes, stratis etiam tum per cubilia propterque mensas, nullo metu, non antepositis vigiliis. Adeo cuncta incuria disjecta erant, neque belli timor; ac ne pax quidem, nisi languida et soluta, inter temulentos.

LI. Caesar avidas legiones, quo latior populatio foret, quattuor in cuneos dispertit: quinquaginta millium spatium ferro flammisque pervastat: non sexus, non aetas miserationem adtulit; profana simul et sacra et celeberrimum illis gentibus templum, quod *Tanfanae* vocabant, solo aequantur: sine vulnere milites, qui semisomnos, inermos, aut palantis ceciderant. Excivit ea caedes Bructeros, Tubantes, Usipetes; saltusque, per quos exercitui regressus, insedere: quod gnarum duci; incessitque itineri et proelio. Pars equitum et auxiliariae cohortes ducebant, mox prima legio, et mediis inpedimentis sinistrum latus unaetvicesimani, dextrum quintani

clausere; vicesima legio terga firmavit; post ceteri sociorum. Sed hostes, donec agmen per saltus porrigeretur, inmoti; dein latera et frontem modice adsultantes, tota vi novissimos incurrere: turbabanturque densis Germanorum catervis leves cohortes, cum Caesar advectus ad vicesimanos voce magna *hoc illud tempus oblitterandae seditionis* clamitabat; *pergerent, properarent culpam in decus vertere.* Exarsere animis, unoque impetu perruptum hostem redigunt in aperta, caeduntque: simul primi agminis copiae evasere silvas castraque communivere. Quietum inde iter: fidensque recentibus ac priorum oblitus miles in hibernis locatur.

LII. Nuntiata ea Tiberium laetitia curaque adfecere: gaudebat obpressam seditionem: sed quod largiendis pecuniis et missione festinata favorem militum quaesivisset, bellica quoque Germanici gloria, angebatur. Rettulit tamen ad senatum de rebus gestis, multaque de virtute ejus memoravit, magis in speciem verbis adornata, quam ut penitus sentire crederetur. Paucioribus Drusum et finem Illyrici motus laudavit, sed intentior et fida oratione: cunctaque, quae Germanicus indulserat, servavit etiam apud Pannonicos exercitus.

LIII. Eodem anno Julia supremum diem obiit, ob inpudicitiam olim a patre Augusto Pandateria insula, mox oppido Reginorum, qui Siculum fretum adcolunt, clausa. Fuerat in matrimonio Tiberii, florentibus Caio et Lucio Caesaribus, spreveratque ut inparem; nec alia tam intima Tiberio causa, cur Rhodum abscederet: imperium adeptus, extorrem, infamem, et post interfectum Postumum Agrippam omnis spei egenam, inopia ac tabe

longa peremit, obscuram fore necem longinquitate exsilii ratus. Par causa saevitiae in Sempronium Gracchum, qui familia nobili, sollers ingenio et prave facundus, eandem Juliam in matrimonio M. Agrippae temeraverat. Nec is libidini finis; traditam Tiberio pervicax adulter contumacia et odiis in maritum adcendebat: litteraeque, quas Julia patri Augusto cum insectatione Tiberii scripsit, a Graccho conpositae credebantur. Igitur amotus Cercinam, Africi maris insulam, quattuordecim annis exsilium toleravit. Tunc milites ad caedem missi invenere in prominenti littoris, nihil laetum opperientem: quorum adventu *breve tempus* petivit, *ut suprema mandata uxori Alliariae per litteras daret*, cervicemque percussoribus obtulit, constantia mortis haud indignus Sempronio nomine; vita degeneraverat. Quidam non Roma eos milites, sed ab L. Asprenate, proconsule Africae, missos tradidere, auctore Tiberio, qui famam caedis posse in Asprenatem verti frustra speraverat.

LIV. Idem annus novas caerimonias adcepit, addito sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio, ut quondam T. Tatius retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios instituerat. Sorte ducti e primoribus civitatis unus et viginti: Tiberius Drususque et Claudius et Germanicus adjiciuntur. Ludos Augustales tunc primum coeptos turbavit discordia ex certamine histrionum: indulserat ei ludicro Augustus, dum Maecenati obtemperat effuso in amorem Bathylli: neque ipse abhorrebat talibus studiis, et civile rebatur misceri voluptatibus vulgi. Alia Tiberio morum via: sed populum, per tot annos molliter habitum, nondum audebat ad duriora vertere.

LV. Druso Caesare, C. Norbano consulibus, decernitur Germanico triumphus manente bello; quod, quamquam in aestatem summa ope parabat, initio veris et repentino in Cattos excursu praecepit: nam spes incesserat dissidere hostem in Arminium ac Segestem, insignem utrumque perfidia in nos aut fide. Arminius turbator Germaniae; Segestes *parari rebellionem* saepe alias et supremo convivio, post quod in arma itum, aperuit, suasitque Varo, *ut se et Arminium et ceteros proceres vinciret; nihil ausuram plebem principibus amotis, atque ipsi tempus fore, quo crimina et innoxios discerneret:* sed Varus fato et vi Arminii cecidit. Segestes, quamquam consensu gentis in bellum tractus, discors manebat, auctis privatim odiis, quod Arminius filiam ejus alii pactam rapuerat, gener invisus inimici soceri: quaeque apud concordes vincula caritatis, incitamenta irarum apud infensos erant.

LVI. Igitur Germanicus quattuor legiones, quinque auxiliarium milia, et tumultuarias catervas Germanorum cis Rhenum colentium, Caecinae tradit: totidem legiones, duplicem sociorum numerum ipse ducit: positoque castello super vestigia paterni praesidii in monte Tauno, expeditum exercitum in Cattos rapit, L. Apronio ad munitiones viarum et fluminum relicto. Nam (rarum illi caelo) siccitate et amnibus modicis inoffensum iter properaverat; imbresque et fluminum auctus regredienti metuebantur. Sed Cattis adeo improvisus advenit, ut, quod imbecillum aetate ac sexu, statim captum aut trucidatum sit. Juventus flumen Adranam nando tramiserat, Romanosque pontem coeptantis arcebant: dein tormen-

tis sagittisque pulsi, temptatis frustra conditionibus pacis, cum quidam ad Germanicum perfugissent, reliqui, omissis pagis vicisque, in silvas disperguntur. Caesar, incenso Mattio, (id genti caput,) aperta populatus vertit ad Rhenum, non auso hoste terga abeuntium lacessere; quod illi moris, quotiens astu magis quam per formidinem cessit. Fuerat animus Cheruscis juvare Cattos: sed exterruit Caecina huc illuc ferens arma; et Marsos, congredi ausos, prospero proelio cohibuit.

LVII. Neque multo post legati a Segeste venerunt auxilium orantes adversus vim popularium, a quîs circumsedebatur; validiore apud eos Arminio, quando bellum suadebat. Nam barbaris, quanto quis audacia promptus, tanto magis fidus rebusque motis potior habetur. Addiderat Segestes legatis filium, nomine Segimundum: sed juvenis conscientia cunctabatur: quippe anno, quo Germaniae descivere, sacerdos apud Aram Ubiorum creatus, ruperat vittas, profugus ad rebelles: adductus tamen in spem clementiae Romanae pertulit patris mandata; benigneque exceptus, cum praesidio Gallicam in ripam missus est. Germanico pretium fuit convertere agmen: pugnatumque in obsidentis, et ereptus Segestes magna cum propinquorum et clientium manu. Inerant feminae nobiles; inter quas uxor Arminii, eademque filia Segestis, mariti magis quam parentis animo, neque victa in lacrimas neque voce supplex, conpressis intra sinum manibus, gravidum uterum intuens. Ferebantur et spolia Varianae cladis, plerisque eorum, qui tum in deditionem veniebant, praedae data.

LVIII. Simul Segestes ipse, ingens visu et memoria bonae societatis inpavidus. Verba ejus in hunc modum fuere :—*Non hic mihi primus erga populum Romanum fidei et constantiae dies : ex quo a divo Augusto civitate donatus sum, amicos inimicosque ex vestris utilitatibus delegi, neque odio patriae, (quippe proditores etiam iis quos anteponunt invisi sunt,) verum quia Romanis Germanisque idem conducere, et pacem quam bellum probabam. Ergo raptorem filiae meae, violatorem foederis vestri, Arminium, apud Varum, qui tum exercitui praesidebat, reum feci. Dilatus segnitia ducis, quia parum praesidii in legibus erat, ut me et Arminium et conscios vinciret flagitavi : testis illa nox, mihi utinam potius novissima ! quae secuta sunt defleri magis quam defendi possunt ; ceterum et injeci catenas Arminio, et a factione ejus injectas perpessus sum. Atque ubi primum tui copia, vetera novis et quieta turbidis antehabeo, neque ob praemium, sed ut me perfidia exsolvam, simul genti Germanorum idoneus conciliator, si poenitentiam quam perniciem maluerit. Pro juventa et errore filii veniam precor : filiam necessitate huc adductam fateor : tuum erit consultare, utrum praevaleat, quod ex Arminio concepit, an quod ex me genita est.* Caesar, clementi responso, liberis propinquisque ejus incolumitatem, ipsi sedem vetere in provincia pollicetur. Exercitum reduxit, nomenque imperatoris auctore Tiberio adcepit. Arminii uxor virilis sexus stirpem edidit : educatus Ravennae puer, quo mox ludibrio conflictatus sit, in tempore memorabo.

LIX. Fama dediti benigneque excepti Segestis vulgata, ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat,

spe vel dolore adcipitur. Arminium, super insitam violentiam, rapta uxor, subjectus servitio uxoris uterus, vecordem agebant: volitabatque per Cheruscos, arma in Segestem, arma in Caesarem poscens: neque probris temperabat:—*Egregium patrem! magnum imperatorem! fortem exercitum! quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint. Sibi tres legiones, totidem legatos procubuisse. Non enim se proditione, neque adversus feminas gravidas, sed palam adversus armatos bellum tractare: cerni adhuc Germanorum in lucis signa Romana, quae diis patriis suspenderit: coleret Segestes victam ripam: redderet filio sacerdotium Romanum; Germanos numquam satis adcusaturos, quod inter Albim et Rhenum virgas et secures et togam viderint: aliis gentibus ignorantia imperii Romani inexperta esse supplicia, nescia tributa: quae quando exuerint, inritusque discesserit ille inter numina dicatus Augustus, ille delectus Tiberius, ne inperitum adolescentulum, ne seditiosum exercitum pavescerent. Si patriam, parentes, antiqua mallent quam dominos et colonias novas, Arminium potius gloriae ac libertatis, quam Segestem flagitiosae servitutis ducem, sequerentur.*

LX. Conciti per haec non modo Cherusci, sed conterminae gentes; tractusque in partis Inguiomerus, Arminii patruus, veteri apud Romanos auctoritate; unde major Caesari metus: et ne bellum mole una ingrueret, Caecinam cum quadraginta cohortibus Romanis distrahendo hosti per Bructeros ad flumen Amisiam mittit; equitem Pedo praefectus finibus Frisiorum ducit. Ipse inpositas navibus quattuor legiones per lacus vexit; simulque pedes, eques, classis apud praedictum amnem

convenere. Chauci, cum auxilia pollicerentur, in conmilitium adsciti sunt. Bructeros sua urentis expedita cum manu L. Stertinius missu Germanici fudit: interque caedem et praedam repperit undevicesimae legionis aquilam, cum Varo amissam. Ductum inde agmen ad ultimos Bructerorum; quantumque Amisiam et Luppiam amnes inter vastatum, haud procul Teutoburgiensi saltu, in quo reliquiae Vari legionumque insepultae dicebantur.

LXI. Igitur cupido Caesarem invadit solvendi suprema militibus ducique, permoto ad miserationem omni qui aderat exercitu, ob propinquos, amicos, denique ob casus bellorum et sortem hominum. Praemisso Caecina, ut occulta saltuum scrutaretur pontesque et aggeres humido paludum et fallacibus campis inponeret, incedunt maestos locos visuque ac memoria deformes. Prima Vari castra lato ambitu et dimensis principiis trium legionum manus ostentabant; dein semiruto vallo, humili fossa, adcisae jam reliquiae consedisse intelligebantur: medio campi albentia ossa, ut fugerant, ut restiterant, disjecta vel aggerata: adjacebant fragmina telorum, equorumque artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa ora. Lucis propinquis barbarae arae, apud quas tribunos ac primorum ordinum centuriones mactaverant: et cladis ejus superstites, pugnam aut vincula elapsi, referebant *hic cecidisse legatos; illic raptas aquilas; primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum; ubi infelici dextra et suo ictu mortem invenerit; quo tribunali contionatus Arminius, quot patibula captivis, quae scrobes; utque signis et aquilis per superbiam inluserit.*

LXII. Igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus sextum post cladis annum, trium legionum ossa, nullo noscente alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegeret, omnes ut conjunctos, ut consanguineos, aucta in hostem ira, maesti simul et infensi condebant. Primum exstruendo tumulo cespitem Caesar posuit, gratissimo munere in defunctos et praesentibus doloris socius. Quod Tiberio haud probatum, seu cuncta Germanici in deterius trahenti, sive exercitum imagine caesorum insepultorumque tardatum ad proelia et formidolosiorem hostium credebat: *neque imperatorem, auguratu et vetustissimis caerimoniis praeditum, adtrectare feralia debuisse.*

LXIII. Sed Germanicus cedentem in avia Arminium secutus, ubi primum copia fuit, evehi equites campumque, quem hostis insederat, eripi jubet. Arminius conligi suos et propinquare silvis monitos vertit repente: mox signum prorumpendi dedit iis, quos per saltus occultaverat. Tunc nova acie turbatus eques; missaeque subsidiariae cohortes, et fugientium agmine inpulsae, auxerant consternationem; trudebanturque in paludem gnaram vincentibus, iniquam nesciis, ni Caesar productas legiones instruxisset: inde hostibus terror, fiducia militi; et manibus aequis abscessum. Mox, reducto ad Amisiam exercitu, legiones classe, ut advexerat, reportat; pars equitum littore oceani petere Rhenum jussa; Caecina, qui suum militem ducebat, monitus, quamquam notis itineribus regrederetur, Pontes longos quam maturrime superare. Angustus is trames vastas inter paludes et quondam a L. Domitio adgeratus: cetera limosa, tenacia gravi coeno aut rivis incerta erant; circum silvae paula-

tim adclives quas tum Arminius inplevit, conpendiis viarum et cito agmine onustum sarcinis armisque militem cum antevenisset. Caecinae dubitanti, quonam modo ruptos vetustate pontes reponeret, simulque propulsaret hostem, castra metari in loco placuit, ut opus, et alii proelium inciperent.

LXIV. Barbari perfringere stationes, seque inferre munitoribus nisi, lacessunt, circumgrediuntur, obcursant. Miscetur operantium bellantiumque clamor; et cuncta pariter Romanis adversa; locus uligine profunda, idem ad gradum instabilis, procedentibus lubricus, corpora gravia loricis; neque librare pila inter undas poterant. Contra Cheruscis sueta apud paludes proelia, procera membra, hastae ingentes ad vulnera facienda quamvis procul. Nox demum inclinantis jam legiones adversae pugnae exemit. Germani, ob prospera indefessi, ne tum quidem sumpta quiete, quantum aquarum circum surgentibus jugis oritur, vertere in subjecta; mersaque humo, et obruto quod effectum operis, duplicatus militi labor. Quadragesimum id stipendium Caecina parendi aut imperitandi habebat; secundarum ambiguarumque rerum sciens, eoque interritus. Igitur futura volvens, non aliud repperit, quam ut hostem silvis coerceret, donec saucii, quantumque gravioris agminis, anteirent: nam medio montium et paludum porrigebatur planities, quae tenuem aciem pateretur. Deliguntur legiones, quinta dextro lateri, unaetvicesima in laevum; primani ducendum ad agmen, vicesimanus adversum secuturos.

LXV. Nox per diversa inquies; cum barbari festis epulis, laeto cantu aut truci sonore subjecta vallium ac

resultantis saltus complerent; apud Romanos invalidi ignes, interruptae voces, atque ipsi passim adjacerent vallo, oberrarent tentoriis, insomnes magis quam pervigiles: ducemque terruit dira quies: nam Quintilium Varum, sanguine oblitum et paludibus emersum, cernere et audire visus est velut vocantem, non tamen obsecutus, et manum intendentis reppulisse. Coepta luce missae in latera legiones, metu an contumacia, locum deseruere: capto propere campo humentia ultra. Neque tamen Arminius, quamquam libero incursu, statim prorupit: sed, ut haesere coeno fossisque inpedimenta, turbati circum milites, incertus signorum ordo, atque tali in tempore, sibi quisque properus et lentae adversum imperia aures, inrumpere Germanos jubet, clamitans, *En Varus et eodem iterum fato vinctae legiones!* Simul haec, et cum delectis scindit agmen, equisque maxime vulnera ingerit. Illi sanguine suo et lubrico paludum lapsantes, excussis rectoribus, disjicere obvios, proterere jacentes: plurimus circa aquilas labor, quae neque adversum ferri ingruentia tela neque figi limosa humo poterant. Caecina, dum sustentat aciem, subfosso equo delapsus circumveniebatur, ni prima legio sese obposuisset. Juvit hostium aviditas, omissa caede, praedam sectantium: enisaeque legiones vesperascente die in aperta et solida. Neque is miseriarum finis: struendum vallum, petendus agger: amissa magna ex parte per quae egeritur humus aut exciditur cespes: non tentoria manipulis, non fomenta sauciis: infectos coeno aut cruore cibos dividentes, funestas tenebras, et tot

hominum milibus unum jam reliquum diem lamentabantur.

LXVI. Forte equus abruptis vinculis vagus et clamore territus quosdam obcurrentium obturbavit: tanta inde consternatio inrupisse Germanos credentium, ut cuncti ruerent ad portas, quarum decumana maxime petebatur, aversa hosti et fugientibus tutior. Caecina, conperto vanam esse formidinem, cum tamen neque auctoritate, neque precibus, ne manu quidem, obsistere aut retinere militem quiret, projectus in limine portae miseratione demum, quia per corpus legati eundum erat, clausit viam: simul tribuni et centuriones falsum pavorem esse docuerunt.

LXVII. Tunc contractos in principia jussosque dicta cum silentio adcipere, temporis ac necessitatis monet: *Unam in armis salutem; sed ea consilio temperanda, manendumque intra vallum, donec expugnandi hostes spe propius subcederent; mox undique erumpendum; illa eruptione ad Rhenum perveniri: quodsi fugerent, plures silvas, profundas magis paludes, saevitiam hostium superesse; at victoribus decus, gloriam: quae domi cara, quae in castris honesta,* memorat: reticuit de adversis. Equos dehinc, orsus a suis, legatorum tribunorumque nulla ambitione fortissimo cuique bellatori tradit, ut hi, mox pedes, in hostem invaderent.

LXVIII. Haud minus inquies Germanus spe, cupidine, et diversis ducum sententiis agebat: Arminio, *sinerent egredi, egressosque rursum per humida et inpedita circumvenirent,* suadente: atrociora Inguiomero et laeta barbaris, *ut vallum armis ambirent: promptam expugna-*

tionem, plures captivos, incorruptam praedam fore. Igitur orta die proruunt fossas, injiciunt crates, summa valli prensant, raro super milite et quasi ob metum defixo. Postquam haesere munimentis, datur cohortibus signum, cornuaque ac tubae concinuere: exin clamore et inpetu tergis Germanorum circumfunduntur, exprobrantes *non hic silvas, nec paludes, sed aequis locis aequos deos.* Hosti facile excidium et paucos ac semermos cogitanti sonus tubarum, fulgor armorum, quanto inopina, tanto majora obfunduntur: cadebantque, ut rebus secundis avidi, ita adversis incauti. Arminius integer, Inguiomerus post grave vulnus pugnam deseruere: vulgus trucidatum est donec ira et dies permansit. Nocte demum reversae legiones, quamvis plus vulnerum, eadem ciborum egestas fatigaret, vim sanitatem copias cuncta in victoria habuere.

LXIX. Pervaserat interim *circumventi exercitus* fama, et *infesto Germanorum agmine Gallias peti:* ac ni Agrippina inpositum Rheno pontem solvi prohibuisset, erant qui id flagitium formidine auderent: sed femina, ingens animi, munia ducis per eos dies induit, militibusque, ut quis inops aut saucius, vestem et fomenta dilargita est. Tradit C. Plinius, Germanicorum bellorum scriptor, stetisse apud principium pontis, laudes et grates reversis legionibus habentem. Id Tiberii animum altius penetravit: *non enim simplices eas curas, nec adversus externos militem quaeri: nihil relictum imperatoribus ubi femina manipulos intervisat, signa adeat, largitione temptet; tamquam parum ambitiose filium ducis gregali habitu circumferat,* Caesarem*que* Caligulam *adpellari*

velit: potiorem jam apud exercitus Agrippinam, quam legatos, quam duces: conpressam a muliere seditionem, cui nomen principis obsistere non quiverit. Adcendebat haec onerabatque Sejanus, peritia morum Tiberii, odia in longum jaciens, quae reconderet auctaque promeret.

LXX. At Germanicus legionum, quas navibus vexerat, secundam et quartam decimam, itinere terrestri P. Vitellio ducendas tradit, quo levior classis vadoso mari innaret vel reciproco sideret. Vitellius primum iter sicca humo aut modice adlabente aestu quietum habuit: mox inpulsu aquilonis, simul sidere aequinoctii, quo maxime tumescit oceanus, rapi agique agmen. Et obplebantur terrae: eadem freto, litori, campis facies: neque discerni poterant incerta ab solidis, brevia a profundis. Sternuntur fluctibus, hauriuntur gurgitibus jumenta, sarcinae; corpora exanima interfluunt, obcursant. Permiscentur inter se manipuli, modo pectore, modo ore tenus exstantes, aliquando subtracto solo disjecti aut obruti: non vox et mutui hortatus juvabant, adversante unda: nihil strenuus ab ignavo, sapiens ab rudi, consilia a casu differre: cuncta pari violentia involvebantur. Tandem Vitellius in editiora enisus eodem agmen subduxit: pernoctavere sine utensilibus, sine igni, magna pars nudo aut mulcato corpore; haud minus miserabiles quam quos hostis circumsidet: quippe illis etiam honestae mortis usus, his inglorium exitium. Lux reddidit terram; penetratumque ad amnem Unsingim, quo Caesar classe contenderat. Inpositae deinde legiones, vagante fama

submersas: nec fides salutis, antequam Caesarem exercitumque reducem videre.

LXXI. Jam Stertinius ad adcipiendum in deditionem Segimerum, fratrem Segestis, praemissus, ipsum et filium ejus in civitatem Ubiorum perduxerat: data utrique venia; facile Segimero, cunctantius filio, quia Quintilii Vari corpus inlusisse dicebatur. Ceterum ad subplenda exercitus damna certavere Galliae, Hispaniae, Italia, quod cuique promptum, arma, equos, aurum, obferentes: quorum laudato studio Germanicus, armis modo et equis ad bellum sumptis, propria pecunia militem juvit: utque cladis memoriam etiam comitate leniret, circumire saucios, facta singulorum extollere; vulnera intuens, alium spe, alium gloria, cunctos adloquio et cura sibique et proelio firmabat.

LXXII. Decreta eo anno triumphalia insignia A. Caecinae, L. Apronio, C. Silio, ob res cum Germanico gestas. Nomen *patris patriae* Tiberius, a populo saepius ingestum, repudiavit; neque in acta sua jurari, quamquam censente senatu, permisit: *cuncta mortalium incerta; quantoque plus adeptus foret, tanto se magis in lubrico* dictitans. Non tamen ideo faciebat fidem civilis animi: nam legem majestatis reduxerat; cui nomen apud veteres idem, sed alia in judicium veniebant: si quis proditione exercitum, aut plebem seditionibus, denique male gesta re publica majestatem populi Romani minuisset: facta arguebantur, dicta inpune erant. Primus Augustus cognitionem de famosis libellis, specie legis ejus, tractavit, conmotus Cassii Severi libidine, qua viros

feminasque inlustres procacibus scriptis diffamaverat: mox Tiberius, consultante Pompeio Macro praetore, *an judicia majestatis redderentur? exercendas leges esse,* respondit. Hunc quoque asperavere carmina, incertis auctoribus vulgata, in saevitiam superbiamque ejus et discordem cum matre animum.

LXXIII. Haud pigebit referre in Falanio et Rubrio, modicis equitibus Romanis, praetemptata crimina: ut quibus initiis, quanta Tiberii arte, gravissimum exitium inrepserit, dein repressum sit, postremo arserit cunctaque conripuerit, noscatur. Falanio objiciebat accusator, *quod inter cultores Augusti,* qui per omnes domos, in modum conlegiorum, habebantur, *Cassium quemdam, mimum corpore infamem, adscivisset: quodque venditis hortis statuam Augusti simul mancipasset.* Rubrio crimini dabatur *violatum perjurio numen Augusti.* Quae ubi Tiberio notuere, scripsit consulibus: *non ideo decretum patri suo caelum, ut in perniciem civium is honor verteretur. Cassium histrionem solitum inter alios ejusdem artis interesse ludis, quos mater sua in memoriam Augusti sacrasset; nec contra religiones fieri, quod effigies ejus, ut alia numinum simulacra, venditionibus hortorum et domuum adcedant. Jusjurandum perinde aestimandum quam si Jovem fefellisset: deorum injurias dîs curae.*

LXXIV. Nec multo post Granium Marcellum praetorem Bithyniae Quaestor ipsius Caepio Crispinus majestatis postulavit, subscribente Romano Hispone: qui formam vitae iniit, quam postea celebrem miseriae temporum et audaciae hominum fecerunt. Nam egens, igno-

tus, inquies, dum occultis libellis saevitiae principis adrepit, mox clarissimo cuique periculum facessit, potentiam apud unum, odium apud omnes adeptus, dedit exemplum, quod secuti ex pauperibus divites, ex contemptis metuendi, perniciem aliis ac postremum sibi invenere. Sed Marcellum insimulabat *sinistros de Tiberio sermones habuisse:* inevitabile crimen, cum ex moribus principis foedissima quaeque deligeret adcusator objectaretque reo: nam, quia vera erant, etiam dicta credebantur. Addidit Hispo *statuam Marcelli altius quam Caesarum sitam; et alia in statua, amputato capite Augusti, effigiem Tiberii inditam:* ad quod exarsit adeo, ut rupta taciturnitate proclamaret *se quoque in ea causa laturum sententiam palam et juratum:* quo ceteris eadem necessitas fieret. Manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis libertatis. Igitur Cnaeus Piso, *Quo*, inquit, *loco censebis, Caesar? si primus, habebo quod sequar; si post omnes, vereor ne inprudens dissentiam.* Permotus his, quantoque incautius efferverat, poenitentia patiens tulit absolvi reum criminibus majestatis: de pecuniis repetundis ad reciperatores itum est.

LXXV. Nec patrum cognitionibus satiatus judiciis adsidebat in cornu tribunalis, ne praetorem curuli depelleret; multaque eo coram adversus ambitum et potentium preces constituta: sed dum veritati consulitur, libertas conrumpebatur. Inter quae Pius Aurelius senator questus, *mole publicae viae ductuque aquarum labefactas aedis suas,* auxilium patrum invocabat: resistentibus aerarii praetoribus, subvenit Caesar, pretiumque aedium Aurelio tribuit, erogandae per honesta pecuniae cupiens:

quam virtutem diu retinuit, cum ceteras exueret. Propertio Celeri praetorio, veniam ordinis ob paupertatem petenti, decies sestertium largitus est, satis conperto paternas ei angustias esse: temptantis eadem alios probare causam senatui jussit, cupidine severitatis, in his etiam quae rite faceret acerbus: unde ceteri silentium et paupertatem confessioni et beneficio praeposuere.

LXXVI. Eodem anno continuis imbribus auctus Tiberis plana urbis stagnaverat: relabentem secuta est aedificiorum et hominum strages. Igitur censuit Asinius Gallus *ut libri Sibyllini adirentur*: renuit Tiberius, perinde divina humanaque obtegens. Sed remedium coercendi fluminis Ateio Capitoni et L. Arruntio mandatum. Achaiam ac Macedoniam onera deprecantis levari in praesens proconsulari imperio tradique Caesari placuit. Edendis gladiatoribus, quos Germanici fratris ac suo nomine obtulerat, Drusus praesedit, quamquam vili sanguine nimis gaudens: quod vulgo formidolosum, et pater arguisse dicebatur. Cur abstinuerit spectaculo ipse, varie trahebant: alii taedio coetus, quidam tristitia ingenii et metu conparationis, quia Augustus comiter interfuisset. Non crediderim ad ostentandam saevitiam movendasque populi obfensiones concessam filio materiem: quamquam id quoque dictum est.

LXXVII. At theatri licentia, proximo priore anno coepta, gravius tum erupit, occisis non modo e plebe, sed militibus et centurione, vulnerato tribuno praetoriae cohortis, dum probra in magistratus et dissensionem vulgi prohibent. Actum de ea seditione apud patres, dicebanturque sententiae *ut praetoribus jus virgarum in his-*

triones esset: intercessit Haterius Agrippa tribunus plebei, increpitusque est Asinii Galli oratione, silente Tiberio, qui ea simulacra libertatis senatui praebebat. Valuit tamen intercessio, quia divus Augustus *inmunes verberum histriones* quondam responderat, neque fas Tiberio infringere dicta ejus. De modo lucaris, et adversus lasciviam fautorum, multa decernuntur: ex quis maxime insignia: *ne domos pantomimorum senator introiret; ne egredientis in publicum equites Romani cingerent, aut alibi quam in theatro spectarentur; et spectantium inmodestiam exsilio multandi potestas praetoribus fieret.*

LXXVIII. Templum ut in colonia Tarraconensi strueretur Augusto petentibus Hispanis permissum; datumque in omnes provincias exemplum. Centesimam rerum venalium post bella civilia institutam, deprecante populo, edixit Tiberius, *militare aerarium eo subsidio niti: simul inparem oneri rem publicam, nisi vicesimo militiae anno veterani dimitterentur:* ita proximae seditionis male consulta, quibus sedecim stipendiorum finem expresserant, abolita in posterum.

LXXIX. Actum deinde in senatu ab Arruntio et Ateio, an ob moderandas Tiberis exundationes verterentur flumina et lacus, per quos augescit: auditaeque municipiorum et coloniarum legationes, orantibus Florentinis, *ne Clanis solito alveo demotus in amnem Arnum transferretur, idque ipsis perniciem adferret.* Congruentia his Interamnates disseruere: *pessum ituros fecundissimos Italiae campos, si amnis Nar* (id enim parabatur) *in rivos diductus superstagnavisset.* Nec Reatini

silebant, Velinum lacum, qua in Narem effunditur, obstrui recusantes, *quippe in adjacentia erupturum: optume rebus mortalium consuluisse naturam, quae sua ora fluminibus, suos cursus, utque originem, ita fines dederit: spectandas etiam religiones sociorum, qui sacra et lucos et aras patriis amnibus dicaverint: quin ipsum Tiberim nolle prorsus adcolis fluviis orbatum minore gloria fluere.* Seu preces coloniarum, seu difficultas operum, sive superstitio valuit ut in sententiam Pisonis concederetur, qui nil mutandum censuerat.

LXXX. Prorogatur Poppaeo Sabino provincia Moesia, additis Achaia ac Macedonia. Id quoque morum Tiberii fuit, continuare imperia, ac plerosque ad finem vitae in iisdem exercitibus aut jurisdictionibus habere. Causae variae traduntur: alii *taedio novae curae semel placita pro aeternis servavisse;* quidam *invidia, ne plures fruerentur:* sunt qui existiment, ut callidum ejus ingenium, ita anxium judicium: neque enim eminentis virtutes sectabatur, et rursum vitia oderat: ex optimis periculum sibi, a pessimis dedecus publicum metuebat: qua haesitatione postremo eo provectus est, ut mandaverit quibusdam provincias, quos egredi urbe non erat passurus.

LXXXI. De comitiis consularibus, quae tum primum illo principe ac deinceps fuere, vix quidquam firmare ausim: adeo diversa non modo apud auctores, sed in ipsius orationibus reperiuntur. Modo, subtractis candidatorum nominibus, originem cujusque et vitam et stipendia descripsit, ut qui forent intelligeretur: ali-

quando, ea quoque significatione subtracta, candidatos hortatus ne ambitu comitia turbarent, suam ad id curam pollicitus est: plerumque *eos tantum apud se professos,* disseruit, *quorum nomina consulibus edidisset: posse et alios profiteri, si gratiae aut meritis confiderent:* speciosa verbis, re inania aut subdola, quantoque majore libertatis imagine tegebantur, tanto eruptura ad infensius servitium.

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NOTES.

NOTES ON THE GERMANIA.

Chap. I.—*Germania.*—Sometimes called *Germania Transrhenana*, to distinguish it from the tract lying between the Rhine and the Scheldt, which was called *Germania Cisrhenana*, after it had been inhabited by some German tribes, which had crossed the Rhine, or had been brought over by Agrippa and Tiberius. The latter was also divided into *Germania superior*, or *prima*, extending along the Rhine from Bingium beyond Argentoratum ; and *Germania inferior*, or *secunda*, reaching from Bingium to the sea. *Plin.* iv. 17. *Dio.* liii. 12.

Raetisque et Pannoniis. — We have two conjunctions, because the Raeti and Pannonii are more closely connected with one another than with the Galli. See *c.* 3. 7. 28. 34. The Raeti occupied the upper portions of the valleys of the Licus, Aenus, and Athesis. The Roman province of Raetia included also Vindelicia (*c.* 41. *Suet. Tib.* 9. *Hor. Carm.* IV. iv. 17); and Tacitus seems to have included Noricum also under this name (*Hist.* iii. 5). Pannonia extended from Mount Cetium, by which it was separated from Noricum, to Aenona, and the point where the Tibiscus (*Teis*) falls into the Danube ; comprising the western part of Hungaria, Slavonia, and a large portion of Lower Austria, Moravia, Stiria, Carniola, Croatia, and Bosnia.

Sarmatis Dacisque.—The European Sarmatians, the Slavonians of a more recent age, were but little known to the Romans. They are supposed to have occupied Poland, Lithuania, the eastern part of Prussia, Curonia, Livonia, Russia, the Lesser Tartary, and the Tauric Chersonese. The Daci lived between the Danube and the Carpathian Mountains, about the rivers Tibiscus and Marisus (*Teis and Marosch*) in the upper part of Hungary, Transsylvania, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bessarabia.

Montibus.—The Carpathian and Bohemian mountains.

Cetera.. complectens.—The Greeks and Romans looked upon that part of Europe north of Germany as composed of islands, not as forming part of the continent.

Sinus.—This term is applied to anything that makes a bend (*Serv. ad Virg. Aen.* xi. 626). It is most frequently used of anything which is hollow, as a valley or gulf ; but it also means a promontory, or a

neck of land, where the boundary line makes a bend or sweep (*Virg. Georg.* ii. 123. *Hor. Ep.* i. 13). So *sinus imperii* (*c.* 29); *eundem Germaniae sinum* (*c.* 37), which (*c.* 35) Tacitus calls *ingentem flexum.* Either sense would suit this passage. Not unfrequently, however, *sinus* seems to signify nothing more than *a very remote part.*

Quos bellum aperuit.—The knowledge which the Romans possessed of Germany and the western parts of Europe, was derived principally from the expeditions of Caesar, Drusus Germanicus, Germanicus, and Ahenobarbus. Drusus Germanicus, the brother of Tiberius, made four expeditions into Germany, and dug the canal between the Rhine and the Chisala (*Yssel*). He was the first who navigated the German Ocean, but did not advance farther than the mouth of the Amisia (*Ems*), in the territory of the Chauci. Germanicus, the son of Drusus, (A. D. 14-16) made four expeditions into Germany, and advanced still farther; he was shipwrecked on the territory of the Frisii (*Annal.* i. 49-52. 55-59. 60-71. ii. 5-26. 41-46). L. Domitius Ahenobarbus crossed the Elbe, and penetrated farther into Germany than any of his predecessors. (*Annal.* i. 63, iv. 44. *Suet. Ner.* iv.) Tiberius advanced to the arctic sea (*Annal.* ii. 26. 47. xii. 39. *Dio.* lv. 6. 8. 28. lvi. 25. *Suet. Tib.* 9. 17. 18. 20. *Vell.* ii. 97. 104-110. 120). This expedition of Tiberius, however, Strabo (VII. i. *p.* 291) and Tacitus himself (*c.* 34) attribute to Drusus Germanicus. On the south side of Germany the Romans made no conquests beyond the Danube; but they obtained some geographical knowledge through the journeys of the traders who procured amber from the shores of the Baltic, and from their wars with the Daci, Marcomanni, and other tribes on this frontier.

Aperuit.—So in Greek ἀναγνῶναι (*Soph. Oed. Col.* 515. *Eur. Ion.* 1563).

Rhenus..ortus.—The Rhine rises in Mount Adula. Comp. *Caes. B. G.* iv. 10.

Versus had better be looked upon as a participle than as an adverb.

Miscetur—"Mixes itself," should be regarded rather as a middle than a passive verb. On the use of middle verbs in Latin, see note on *nec obligantur*, in *c.* 21.

Molli..jugo.—Comp. *Annal.* xii. 33. So *mollis clivus* (*Virg. Ecl.* ix. 8). *Collis molliter assurgens.* (*Colum.* 2, ii.)

Abnobae.—The MSS. have Arnobae, but the true name was Abnoba. It is the northern part of the Black Forest, opposite the town of

Augusta Rauracorum. (*Augst.*) The words Dianae Abnobae occur on two altars found on the mountain itself, and the name is spelt with a *b* on another stone dug up in the Black Forest *Abnoba mons Istro pater est, cadit Abnobae hiatu Flumen.* (*Avieni Descr. Orbis*, 437).

Plures populos adit.—On the right bank the Vindelici, Norici, Pannonii, Illyrii, Moesi; on the left bank the Hermunduri, Narisci, Marcomanni, Quadi, Daci, and Moesi.

Sex meatibus erumpit.—See *Plin.* iv. 12. or 24. *Herod.* iv. 47. Ephorus (*ap. Strab.* viii. *p.* 305) mentions five mouths. Many MSS. and editions have *erumpat*, which Passow says is contrary to the practice of Tacitus. Ruperti, on the contrary, maintains that the preterite ind. (*Annal.* ii. 28. *Hist.* i. 13. 72. 82. &c.) and the imp. ind. (*Hist* i. 9. iv. 12) occur with *donec*, as also the pres. and imp. subj.; but that the pres. ind. with *donec* is not found elsewhere in Tacitus.

Chap. II.—*Indigenas.*—Αὐτόχθονας. Comp. *Hor. Sat.* 1. iii. 99. *Ovid. Met.* i. 78. *Arist. de Gener. Anim.* iii. *cap. ult.*

Minimeque.. mixtos.—See c. 4. A knowledge of the German Ocean, and the northern parts of Europe, had before been acquired, first by the Phoenicians and Carthaginians, who procured tin from the Cassiterides or from Britain, and amber from the shores of the Baltic (see *c.* 45): then, in the year B. C. 400, by Himilco the Carthaginian, whose voyage has been described by the poet Avienus (see *Plin.* ii. 67); in B. C. 330, by Hecataeus and Philemon (*Plin.* iv. 13. or 27); and about the same time, by Ephorus and Clitarchus (*Strab.* vii. 2. 1, *p.* 293); by Timaeus, Xenophon of Lampsacus, Sotacus, Nicias, Xenocrates, Mithridates, and especially Pytheas of Massilia, who, in the year B. C. 320, sailed to Thule, and thence into the Baltic. (See *Strab.* i. 4. ii. 3. 4. iii. 2. iv. 4. 5. and *Plin.* iv. 16. or 27. 30, xxxvii. 2. or 11.) The scanty nature of the knowledge possessed by the Greeks and Romans about Germany, and the north of Europe, is evident from these passages of Pliny, and from *c.* 44—46.

Quia nec terra olim, &c.—It is, however, well established that the ancestors of the Germans migrated by land from Asia.

Nec.. et.—Nec.. et very frequently occur for *et non.. et.* So *neque.. et* (*Annal.* ii. 51. xv. 28). *Neque-ac* (*Agric.* 10). So in Greek οὔτε.. τὲ, and μήτε.. τὲ (*Soph. Ant.* 763.). The same construction should probably be restored in *Hor. Ars Poet.* 258. *Hic*

NEC *in Accî ..et Ennî*, &c., where the common reading *Hic* ET *in Accî*, &c., scarcely accords with Horace's meaning.

Adversus Oceanus.—The ancients had a notion that this part of the world was higher than the rest; so that in sailing to it, they had to go *up hill.* See *Hist.* ii. 98. *In alia adverso, in alia prono mari* (*Plin.* ii. 70).

Orbis noster may mean *our part of the world*, or, perhaps, the *Roman empire*, as in *Hist.* i. 55. *Agric.* 12.

Nisi si.—As in *Annal.* vi. 25. xv. 53. *Agric.* 32.

Carminibus antiquis.—Comp. *Annal.* i. 65. ii. 88. iv. 47.—*Hist.* ii. 22.

Tuisconem .. conditoresque.—Just as the Greeks fabled Pelasgus, Hellen, and Aeolus, to have been the ancestors of the Pelasgians, Hellenes, and Aeolians. The name *Tuisco* is probably connected with the name *Teutones*, which occurs in various forms; as Theutisci, Theotisci, Tuitschi; and in the old dialects of Germany, *Teut*, *Tuit*, *Thiuda.* In the Belgic *Duitsche*, *Duiske.*

Manno.. vocentur.—Comp. *Plin.* iv. 14. or 28. *Germanorum genera quinque Vindili (al. Vandali); quorum pars Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, Guttones. Alterum genus Ingaevones, quorum pars Cimbri, Teutoni ac Chaucorum gentes. Proximi autem Rheno Istaevones* [*quorum pars Cimbri*], *Mediterranei Hermiones, quorum Suevi, Hermunduri, Catti, Cherusci. Quinta pars Peucini, Basternae, suprà dictis contermini Dacis.* Wilhelm reckons amongst the *Vindili* the tribes of the Suevi on the shores of the Baltic, the Varini, Eudoses, Suardini, Rugii, Lemovii, and in the interior the Langobardi, Reudigni, Aviones, Angli, Nuithones, Gothones, Burgundiones, Silingi: amongst the *Ingaevones* the inhabitants of the Cimbric Chersonese, and the neighbouring islands, the Cimbri, Teutoni, Chauci, Saxones, Angrivarii, Frisii, Sigulones, Charudes, Chali, Phundusii (*Ptol.* ii. 11); amongst the *Istaevones*, on the left bank of the Rhine, the Batavi, Canninefates, Gugerni, Ubii, Vangiones, Nemetes, and Triboci; on the right bank, the Bructeri, Marsi, Usipii, Tubantes, Ansibarii, Dulgibini, Chamavi, Tencteri, Sigambri, and Mattiaci; amongst the *Herminones*, the Hermunduri, Catti, Cherusci, Quadi, Lygii, Semnones, Marcomanni, Narisci.

Marsos.—The Marsi are supposed to have lived at first in the neighbourhood of the Albis (*Elbe*) and Visurgis (*Weser*); then be-

tween the Rhine and the Chisala (*Yssel*), from Paderborn to the Visurgis; and at length, when driven out by Drusus, to have settled in the lands of the Bructeri and Sigambri, between the Amisia (*Ems*) and Luppia (*Lippe*): but from *Annal.* i. 45-50. 56. ii. 6. 7. 25. 26. it has been conjectured, that their settlements are to be looked for in the neighbourhood of the river Logana (*Lahn*). The Marsigni (*c.* 43) are perhaps the same race, or their descendants.

Vandalios.—These lived at first on the shores of the Baltic, between the Albis and Vistula, in Pomerania, and the west of Poland; but being forced to evacuate their possessions in their wars with Aurelian and Probus, they first settled in Dacia and Sarmatia, then in Pannonia and Gallia, and in the year 406, together with the Alani, they migrated to Spain. Being afterwards overpowered by the Goths, they took refuge in Africa, and were there subdued by Justinian in the year 534.

Germaniae vocabulum.—The name *Germani* is supposed by some to mean *men of war*, and to be derived from *ger*, which appears in the French *guerre*, and from *man*; but there are numerous other derivations of the name. It may possibly be connected with that of the *Hermiones.*

Quoniam.. vocarentur.—The text of this sentence is doubtful. The meaning of it, as it stands, is, "Since those who first crossed the Rhine, and expelled the Gauls, and are now called Tungri, were then called Germani. So widely (some affirm) did the name of a single tribe, not of the whole race, by degrees extend itself, that, adopting a name first invented by the victorious tribe (which crossed the Rhine), on account of the terror it excited, and afterwards by themselves, all called themselves Germani."

Evaluisse.—See *c.* 28. *Hist.* i. 80. Ἐκνικᾶν (*Thuc.* i. 3).

CHAP. III.—*Herculem.*—See *c.* 9. By Hercules, Mars, and Mercurius, Tacitus means deities with attributes similar to those ascribed to these Roman deities.

Relatus.—Recital, or chanting. Found only in the ablative. *Hist.* i. 30.

Barritus.—Formed from the German *baren*, to shout. This is the *cantus trux* which he speaks of *Hist.* ii. 22.

Futuraeque.. augurantur.—See *Hist.* iv. 18. *Liv.* iv. 37. *Caes.*

B. G. vii. 84. *Plut. Cras. c.* 27. *Hom. Il.* λ. 437. "For they cause terror or are frightened according to the nature of the sound which proceeds from the army."

Quidam.. opinantur.—Amongst these Strabo (iii. *p.* 149.) contends that Ulysses advanced beyond Tartessus, and founded Ὀδύσσεια ("Olisippo," Lisbon); and Solinus (*c.* 26. 36.) makes him touch at Britain.

Asciburgium.—The modern *Asburg*, or the neighbouring hamlet of *Essenburg*, or *Orsoy.*

Ulixi consecratam.—The meaning is ambiguous, but it had better be translated *by Ulixes* (*Annal.* xv. 41. *Hor. Ars Poet.* 427). Πεποίηταί μοι, and εἴρηταί μοι are frequently used for *I have done*, and *I have said.*

Graecis litteris inscriptos.—See *Caes. B. G.* i. 29. v. 48. vi. 14. The Gauls seem to have learned the art of writing from the Phocaeans, who colonised Massilia.

CHAP. IV.—The words inficere, vitiare, corrumpere, like μιαίνειν, μολύνειν, φθείρειν, do not always imply a change for the worse. See c. 23. *Il.* λ. 141. *Virg. Georg.* ii. 466.

Rutilae comae.—The Gauls and Germans frequently used artificial means to make their hair red. *Hist.* iv. 61. *Rutilatum crinem* (*Strab.* vii. *p.* 290.)

Tantum ad inpetum valida.—Comp. *Annal.* ii. 14. *Ad brevem inpetum validum* (*Liv.* v. 44).

Caelo solove.—The particles *ve* and *vel* always have a disjunctive force. Here *caelo* is to be referred to *frigora*, *solo* to *inediam*, which could not be the case if *ve* were equivalent to *que.* "*Cold* and *hunger* they are accustomed to endure by their *climate* and *soil.*"

CHAP. V.—*Aliquanto, aliquantum*, and the other compounds of *ali*, which refer to number or space, almost invariably imply greatness of some kind. *Ern. ad Suet. Caes.* 86. For a description of the forests of Germany see *Plin.* xvi. 2.

Paludibus foeda.—Especially in Westphalia and Lower Saxony. The cause is to be traced to the large forests, which hinder the drainage.

Arborum inpatiens.—Some editors conjecture *patiens*, because the contrary is asserted by Dio. xlix. 36. Strabo iv. 6. 8. vii. 5. 11. Pliny xii. 3. and Tacitus himself (*c.* 10. 23. 26). The *in* might

very easily have arisen from the *m* preceding. As regards the construction, compare *incuriosus famae, improvidus consilii* (*Hist.* i. 49. iii. 56). *Improvidus futuri* (*Hist.* i. 88). *Immodicus laetitiae* (*Annal.* xv. 23). *Impiger militiae* (*Hist.* i. 87).

Inprocera.—This epithet is applied to the land instead of to the cattle—"abounding in cattle, but generally of a small size." So *nudi aut sagulo leves* (*c.* 6).

Ne armentis..frontis.—See *c.* 6. *Annal.* iv. 72. *Plin.* viii. 15. and 70. *Caes. B. G.* iv. 2. vii. 65. Comp. *Hor. Od.* i. 17. 16. *Ep.* xi. 6. Tacitus does not mean that they have no horns, but that they are stunted.

Argentum.. dubito.—Comp. *Juv.* vi. 298. *Ovid Met.* i. 137.

Nec tamen adfirmaverim, &c. — It is now well known that Germany abounds in these veins. The first was discovered in the reign of Otho I.

Perinde or *proinde.*—Equivalent to ὁμοίως. We must supply in sense *ac nos Romani et omnes fere aliae nationes*, or something of the kind. "They do not desire the possession and use of them, like other nations." Comp. *Annal.* i. 13. 73. ii. 14. 63. 88. *Non in totidem digerunt species* (*c.* 26). *Quippe Persis quoque in totidem dies discriptus est annus* (*Curt.* iii. 3. 10). In several writers of the Augustan age, a distinction is made between *perinde* and *proinde*, the former being an adverb expressing similarity, the latter a causal particle; but in other authors *proinde* has exactly the same meaning as *perinde*, as in *Proinde ac seminibus distant, variantque figura* (*Lucret.* iv. 652); and, *Si possent homines proinde ac sentire videntur* (iii. 1066), and numerous other passages. *Proinde*, not *perinde*, is found in the best MSS. and editions of Sallust.

Est videre.—So ἔστι or ἔξεστι in Greek. "You may see among them, silver vessels which are not more valued than those made of earth."

Quamquam proximi.. habent. — See *c.* 15. 17. 23. 24. 41. 45. *Annal.* ii. 62. *Caes. B. G.* iv. 2. 3. "Although those living on the borders value gold and silver."

Serrati. — Coins, the edges of which are notched like a saw (serra); *bigati*, coins stamped with the figure of a two-horse chariot.

Sequuntur.—Seek after. So *Cic. Off.* i. 1. 37. *Caes. B. C.* i. 1. 3.

Numerus here has perhaps the same meaning as *numeratio.*

CHAP. VI. — *Superest.*—“ Abounds.” *Hist.* i. 51. 83. *Agric.* 45. Superare is used in the same sense.

Ex genere telorum.—See *Annal.* ii. 14. *Tela* are weapons ; *arma*, defensive armour. “ As may be inferred from the nature of their weapons.”

Frameas.— *Pfrieme* is still the name for an awl. See *c.* 11. 13. 14. 24. *Juv.* xiii. 79.

Habili.—See *Annal.* ii. 6. *Hist.* i. 79.

Vibrant — So *πάλλειν*, and *contorquere* (*Hist.* iii. 30, iv. 15.). There should be no full stop after *vibrant ;* they used this light dress that they might have greater freedom.

Nudi aut sagulo leves. — *Pellibus aut parvis rhenonum tegimentis utuntur, magna corporis parte nuda* (*Caes. B. G.* vi. 21). *More patrio nudis corporibus* (*Hist.* ii. 22). “ Each man has a great number of missile weapons ; and they hurl them to an immense distance, being naked or lightly covered with a small cloak.” *Sagulum*, diminutive of *sagum.*

Scuta . . distinguunt. — *Scuta colore fucata* (*Annal.* ii. 14). *Demonstravi digito pictum Gallum in Mariano scuto Cimbrico distortum, ejecta lingua, buccis fluentibus* (*Cic. de Orat.* ii. 66).

Dextros.—Equivalent to *in dextrum latus.*

Plus penes peditem roboris. — The German cavalry, however, was generally superior to the Roman in their encounters.

Mixti.—*Caes. B. G.* i. 48. This mode of fighting was adopted by Caesar in the battle of Pharsalia. *Caes. B. C.* iii. 75.

Centeni.— The *centeni* mentioned in *c.* 12 have reference to civil, and not to military affairs.

Acies per cuneos componitur.—Agathias (*de Imp. Just.* ii. *p.* 40.) says (speaking of the Franks), *φαίης τι ἂν αὐτοὺς συὸς κεφαλὴν τῇ συνθέσει ἀποτυπώσασθαι.*

Consilii quam formidinis. — “ They consider a mark rather of prudence than of fear.” So *Pacem quam bellum probabam* (*Annal.* i. 58). *Miseratio quam invidia augebatur* (iii. 17). *Ne memoriam nostrî per moerorem quam laeti retineatis* (v. 6). The same construction appears in a different form in *quanto inopina, tanto majora* (*Annal.* i. 68).

Scutum . . flagitium.—Comp. *Hor. Od.* ii. 7. 10. ; and the well-known injunctions of the Spartan women, when presenting their sons with their shields, Ἢ τὰν ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶς, and, *Ταύτην ὁ πατήρ σοι ἀεὶ ἔσωζε, καὶ σὺ οὖν ταύτην σῶζε, ἢ μὴ ἔσο.*

Nec aut sacris adesse.—Comp. *Caes. B. G.* vi. 13. "Many surviving the wars, have put an end to their infamy by the halter."

Chap. VII.—*Ex nobilitate.*—So *Distinctio poenarum ex delicto (c.* 12); *ex modo virium (c.* 34).

Nec regibus . . potestas.—*Suaque (Ambiorigis) esse ejusmodi imperia, ut non minus haberet juris in se multitudo, quam ipse in multitudinem. (Caes. B. G.* v. 27.)

Animadvertere.—"To kill." *Hist.* i. 46. iv. 49. Caesar, however, *(B. G.* vi. 23) says, *Quum bellum civitas aut illatum defendit aut infert, magistratus, qui ei bello praesint, ut vitae necisque habeant potestatem, deliguntur.*

Effigiesque . . lucis.—"Taken from the groves."—*Hist.* iv. 22. *Depromptae silvis lucisve ferarum imagines (Plut. Mar.* 23).

Turma.—A squadron of cavalry; *cuneus*, a battalion of infantry (drawn up in the form of a wedge).

In proximo (scil. *loco*).—"Close by."

Unde . . infantium.—Comp. *Annal.* iv. 51. *Agric.* 32. *Plut. Mar.* 16, 18. *Caes. B. G.* i. 51.

Nec illae numerare aut exigere.—So *Neque mihi aut vobis (Annal.* iii. 54.). *Neque paci aut proelio paratum (*xiii. 39).

Exigere.—To compare and examine minutely. See *Hist.* iv. 18.

Ciboque et hortamina.—"Food and encouragement." Two different things connected with one verb, *gestare*, as in c. 1. *Mutuo metu aut montibus separatur.*—Comp. *Agric.* 32. Ἠμύνοντο δὲ καὶ προθυμίᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ παρὰ δύναμιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ παρῆσαν αἱ γύναικες, ὀρέγουσαι βέλη καὶ σιτία καὶ ποτὸν τοῖς δεομένοις προσφέρουσαι καὶ ἀναλαμβάνουσαι τοὺς τιτρωσκομένους *(Plut. Pyrrh.* 29.).

Chap. VIII. — *Memoriae proditur . . restitutas.* — See *Annal.* ii. 26. *Hist.* iii. 82. "That some armies already giving way and ready to fly have been restored by the women."

Objectu pectorum.—By presenting their breasts to their husbands and brothers, begging death at their hands rather than captivity.

Suarum nomine.—"For the sake of." *Cic. Dom.* vii. 47. In *Verr.* v. 5. *Hor. Od.* iii. 21. 5. on which passage see Bentley.

Inter obsides . . imperantur.—Comp. *Liv.* ii. 13. xxvi. 35. 36.

Inesse . . putant. — Comp. *Caes. B. G.* i. 50. *Plut. de Virt. Mul.* ii. *p.* 246. *Annal.* xiv. 29.

Vidimus.—See notes on *ch.* 29. From this passage it has been erroneously supposed that Tacitus had himself been in Germany.

Veledam.—See. *Hist.* iv. 61. 65. *Non vacat Arctoas acies Rhenumque rebellem Captivaeque preces Veledae* (*Stat. Silv.* i. 4, 89). Γαῦνα παρθένος μετὰ τὴν Βελήδαν ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ θειάζουσα (*Dio Cass.* lxxvii. 5). She was surrendered to the Romans by her countrymen, perhaps by Civilis himself. Veleda dwelt in a cave at a place now called *Spillenburg* on the right bank of the Luppia.

Aurinia (or *Alurinia* or *Alioruna*).—This seems to have been a common, and not a proper name. The northern nations gave the name *Alrunae* to women of this kind, which some interpret as meaning *omniscient;* from *all*, and *runen* to know.

Chap. IX.—Scarcely anything is known about the religion of the ancient Germans. The few notices we have respecting it are chiefly in the writings of the Greeks and Romans, who did not understand their language, and with very few exceptions had never visited the country; or, in those of the Christian fathers and ecclesiastics, who were more eager to condemn the superstitions of the pagans than to make minute researches into their character and origin.

The deity whom Tacitus calls *Mercurius* seems to have been the Wodan or Odin of the Germans. The Gauls and Thracians also honoured Mercury above all the other gods (*Caes. B. G.* vi. 17. *Herod.* v. 7). Mercurii dies is Wodenstag or Wednesday.

Cui.. humanis.. hostiis litare fas habent.—"Whom on certain days they consider it lawful to propitiate with human victims also." Comp. *Annal.* xiv. 30. Mars appears to be identical with *Thor* or *Thoron.* Comp. *c.* 39. 40. *Annal.* i. 61. xiii. 57. *Strab.* vii. 2. 3. *p.* 295.

Pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat.—All kinds of conjectures have been formed respecting this Isis, and her connection with the Suevi. The most probable appears to be, that by Isis was meant the moon, which was worshipped by the Germans. *Germani Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt, et quorum aperte opibus juvantur, Solem, et Vulcanum, et Lunam* (*Caes. B. G.* vi. 21). The symbol of Isis would resemble either a pinnace, or the crescent moon.

Nec cohibere .. arbitrantur.—"They do not consider it in accordance with the greatness of celestial beings to restrain," &c. The same is said of the Persians (from whom the Germans are by some supposed to be sprung) by *Herod.* i. 131. *Cic. de Leg.* i. 2.; *de Rep.* iii. 9.

Lucos ac nemora consecrant.—Comp. c. 39, 40. *Annal.* ii. 12. *Hist.* iv. 14. 22. *Lucan.* iii. 11. *Plin.* xii. 1. 2. The *templum Tanfanae* (*Annal.* i. 51) was probably a grove. Templum, like τέμενος, merely implies an enclosure. *Nemus* is the same as νέμος, and probably means a pasture ground.

Chap. X.—*Sortium consuetudo.*—A similar method of divination was practised by the Scythians. *Herod.* iv. 67. "They cut the branch of a fruit tree into small pieces, and throw them without order and at random, after they have been marked distinctly, upon a white garment."

Si publice consuletur.—So *si imperium detrectetur* (*Annal.* i. 45).

Ter singulos tollit.—Not "takes up each three times," but, "three times takes up a lot"—takes up three lots one after another.

Adhuc.—"In addition, a confirmation by omens is required."

Proprium gentis.—He here speaks principally with reference to the Romans. The same custom is recorded of the Persians, *Xen. Cyrop.* viii. 3. 6.; *Anab.* iv. 5. 35. *Herod.* i. 189. vii. 55.

Pressos sacro curru.—So *pressos temone equos* (*Ovid. Met.* xiv. 819).

Hinnitus .. observant.—Compare the story of the manner in which Darius Hystaspes is said to have obtained the kingdom, *Herod.* iii. 85.

Sed apud proceres.—*Sed*, for *sed et*, or *sed etiam.* So (*c.* 15) *sed publice.*

Sacerdotes.—The Germans had no distinct order of priests, like the Druids. *Germani multum ab hac consuetudine differunt; nam neque Druides habent .. neque sacrificiis student* (*Caes. B. G.* vi. 21). Though from this chapter it seems that in each state there were men invested with both a sacred and a magisterial character, who were frequently of noble or even kingly descent, as in the case of Segimundus at Ara Ubiorum (*Annal.* i. 57) and Libys, the priest of the Catti, mentioned by Strabo (vii. *p.* 448). In cases of minor importance the head of the family performed the necessary rites. *Illos*, "the horses."

Committere, comparare, and *componere*, are properly applied to matching two combatants together. So, *Incompositus*, "not well matched." *De Or. D.* 26.

Chap. XI.—*Ut ea quoque .. pertractentur.* — *Praetractentur*, like προβουλεύεσθαι, and *antetractare*, *Suet. Aug.* 35, has been conjectured by some.

Nam agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium credunt. — Comp. *Caes. B. G.* i. 50. vi. 21. *Plin.* xvi. 44.

Nec dierum .. computant.—Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos praedicant, idque ab Druidibus proditum dicunt. Ob eam causam spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum, sed noctium finiunt; dies natales et mensium et annorum sic observant, ut noctem dies subsequatur (*Caes. B. G.* vi. 18). A trace of this mode of reckoning appears in the words *se'nnight* and *fortnight.* "And the evening and the morning were the first day" (*Gen.* i. 5). "In the ninth day of the month at even, from even unto even, shall ye celebrate your Sabbath" (*Levit.* xxiii. 32).

Non simul.. absumitur.—With regard to the Treviri, on the other hand, Caesar (*B. G.* v. 56) says, *Qui ex iis novissimus venit, in conspectu multitudinis omnibus cruciatibus affectus necatur.*

Ut placuit.—*Ut* with the perf. ind. means, "the moment that."

Sacerdotes quibus coercendi jus est.—See *c.* 7.

Frameas concutiunt.—Comp. *Hist.* v. 17. *Caes. B. G.* viii. 21.

Chap. XII.—These assemblies were convened chiefly to discuss matters relating to war, and the offences tried before it were principally such as affected the military interests of the nation. Other crimes were placed under the cognizance of the *principes,* who were elected to administer justice amongst the different cantons and villages.

Discrimen capitis.—By the word *caput,* in this and similar phrases, is generally meant the entry of a citizen's name in the census books; so that anything which affected a man's civil privileges came under the title of *capitis discrimen.* If a citizen were degraded to a lower rank, or had his name struck off the rolls, this was called a *deminutio capitis.* The word also occurs in phrases relating to capital punishments. Which of these meanings is referred to in this passage is not quite clear. The distinctions and relations between the different classes in these German tribes were perhaps hardly defined with sufficient accuracy to suit the former sense, and the latter accords better with the military character of the assembly.

Coeno.. mergunt.—Comp. *Plaut. Poen.* v. 2. 65. 66. *Liv.* i. 51. iv. 50. *Suet. Cal.* 16.

Eliguntur.. reddunt.—Comp. *Caes. B. G.* vi. 23.

Per pagos vicosque.—Comp. *Caes. B. G.* iv. 1. In like manner the state of the Catti was divided into cantons and villages. *Annal.* i. 56.

Helvetia was divided into four cantons. *Caes. B. G.* i. 12. A similar division was adopted by the Saxons in England.

CHAP. XIII.—*Nihil.. agunt.*—"They transact no business, either public or private, without being armed." Comp. *Caes. B. G.* v. 56. *Thucyd.* i. 6.

Moris.—"Is a part of their customs."

Suffecturum.—"That he will be equal to the task."

Probaverit—Implies that some kind of proof of his capabilities was to be given by the young man.

Ornant.—*Ornat* would accord better with the conj. *vel.*

Toga.—The *toga virilis.*

Honos very commonly means "a public office." See *Cic. ad. Div.* x. 9. 10.; *De Amic.* 6. 10. *Pro Sulla*, 18. &c. &c.

Insignis nobilitas.. adspici.—The meaning of this sentence seems to be that a man's nobility or achievements give his sons a right to be accounted of princely rank, even before they are old enough to have distinguished themselves in the field; and accordingly they associate as *comites* with young men who have reached a more robust age, and have already distinguished themselves. If this were not the meaning of *principis dignationem adsignant*, there would hardly be any sense in the expression, *nec rubor inter comites adspici*; for, c. 14. does not prove that all the *comites* were of noble birth, and the contrary may be inferred from *Caes. B. G.* vi. 23. and *Diod.* v. 29. Ἐπάγονται δὲ καὶ θεράποντας ἐλευθέρους. Comp. *Polyb.* ii. 17, who, speaking of the Boii, says: Περὶ δὲ τὰς ἑταιρείας μεγίστην σπουδὴν ἐποιοῦντο, διὰ τὸ καὶ φοβερώτατον καὶ δυνατώτατον εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῦτον, ὃς ἂν πλείστους ἔχειν δοκῇ τοὺς θεραπεύοντας καὶ συμπεριφερομένους αὐτῷ. *Atque ubi quis ex principibus in concilio dixit, se ducem fore, qui sequi velint profiteantur, consurgunt ii, qui et causam et hominem probant suumque auxilium pollicentur atque ab multitudine collaudantur: qui ex iis secuti non sunt, in desertorum ac proditorum numero ducuntur, omniumque iis rerum postea fides derogatur* (*Caes. B. G.* vi. 23).

Nec rubor adspici.—So, *Pudor est* (*Liv.* xi. 27). *Rubori est* is the more common phrase, and is used by Tacitus (*Annal.* xi. 17. xiv. 55).

Gradus.. habet.—The words *et ipse* are expunged by Walch, and look very like a gloss upon *quin etiam.*

Nomen.—Comp. *Agric.* 40.

Expetuntur . . profligant.—The like is related of Indutiomarus by Caesar (*B. G.* v. 55); of Segestes, by Tacitus (*Annal*, i. 57); of Flavius, the brother of Arminius (*Annal.* ii. 9); and of Inguiomerus (*Annal.* ii. 45).

Bella profligant.—See *Annal.* xiv. 36. *Profligare* is "to cause to totter," not "to knock down." Hence it is frequently followed by *conficere.* From this has been derived the meaning of "nearly to finish;" as, *Profligata jam haec, et paene ad exitum perducta questio est* (*Sen. de Benef.* vii. 15). In the *Monumentum Ancyranum* Augustus says, *Coepta profligataque opera a patre meo, perfeci.*

Chap. XIV—*Jam vero, tum vero,* always introduce the climax. See *Cic. Catil.* iii. 9. *Pro L. Man.* 11. *Virg. Aen.* i. 485. *Annal.* iv. 17. *Tum utique* (*Liv.* xxi. 54).

Jam vero . . recessisse.—Comp. *Caes. B. G.* iii. 22. *Si quid iis per vim accidat, aut eundem casum una ferant, aut sibi mortem consciscant: neque adhuc hominum memoria repertus est quisquam, qui, eo interfecto, cujus se amicitiae devovissent, mortem recusaret* (*B. G.* vii. 40). Plutarch (*Anton.* 72) applies to them the epithet *συναποθνήσκοντες.*

Sacramentum means here "a sacred duty."

Tueare.—So, *Quiescas* (*c.* 36). *Acciperes, coerceas, assequare* (*Annal.* ii. 30. iii. 54. vi. 8).

Bellatorem equum.—So *bellator taurus* (*Virg. Georg.* ii. 145).

Nam epulæ . . adparatus.—"For banquets and entertainments, although homely, yet plentiful, serve instead of pay."

Materia . . raptus.—*Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam, quae extra fines cujusque civitatis fiunt* (*Caes. B. G.* vi. 23). Herodotus (v. 6), speaking of the Thracians, says, *Ἀργὸν εἶναι, κάλλιστον· γῆς δε ἐργάτην, ἀτιμότατον· τὸ ζῆν ἀπὸ πολέμου καὶ ληϊστύος, κάλλιστον.*

Chap. XV.—*Venatibus . . per otium.*—So, *Per obsequium . . proeliis* (*c.* 40). *Virtute aut per artem* (*Agric.* 9). *Temeritate aut per ignaviam* (*Agr.* 41). *Per acies aut proscriptione* (*Annal.* i. 2).

Delegata . . familia.—*Strabo* iv. 4. 3. *Delegare* or *legare*, properly "to commission another to act for you."

Penates.—This term is used to signify the house over which the penates presided. On the penates and lares of the Romans see *Cic. De Nat. Deo.* ii. 27. *Heyne Exc.* ix. *ad Virg. Aen.* ii.

Familia.—Properly "the gang of slaves." Here it merely means "family."

Hebent.—So, *Otio torpere* (*c.* 14).

Mos est civitatibus, &c.—Compare *Hom. Od.* λ. 183. *Vel armentorum vel frugum.* So, *Ut quisque audaciae habuisset* (*Annal.* xv. 55). *Suffumigandum et prope apponendum bene olentium herbarum* (*Varr. R. R.* iii. 16). *Promitentes armorum* (*Ammian.* xiv. 7. 18). *Hor. Sat.* ii. 6. 83. ii. 8. 55.

Jam et pecuniam, &c.—The Romans had not only procured the friendship of Ariovistus, Segestes, Malovendus, and others, in this way, but had also begun to purchase peace of the Germans. See *c.* 42. *Annal.* ii. 13. *Dio.* lxvii. 7. lxviii. 9.

CHAP. XVI.—*Nullas .. sedes.*—Towns are, however, mentioned by Tacitus (*Annal.* ii. 62), Caesar (*B. G.* iv. 19), &c. Bekker contends that Tacitus, deceived by the false reports of others, has made a mistake here. As a general rule, however, especially for Germania Transrhenana, his observation seems to be correct. For the reasons of this custom of the ancient Germans, see *Hist.* iv. 64.

Colunt .. placuit.—Compare *Caes. B. G.* vi. 30.

Ne caementorum .. usus.—Compare *Caes. B. G.* v. 43. *Strabo*, iv. 4. 3. *Caementa* are properly the chips made in hewing stones (from *caedo*).

Materia.—"Timber." *Tarde senescunt quorum crispa materies ut acer, palma, populus* (*Plin.* xvi. 28). See *Caes. B. G.* iv. 17. 18. 31. v. 39.

Citra speciem.—This means that they took no pains to make it look well. *Citra* implies stopping short of something: it could not have been used if they had taken pains to make it ugly. Compare *Agric.* 1. 35. Dial. de Or. 27. 41. Florus (i. 3. 5) uses the phrase *intra gloriam esse.*

Diligentius inlinunt.—*Diligenter* means "with great care and accuracy." It originally implies being very nice and particular in the selection of any thing. *Cicero verborum diligentissimus* (*Gell.* xiii. 24). *Multo diligentius meliusque dixit* (*Cic. de Clar. Or.* 22). *Diligenter et prope fastidiose judicare* (*De Or.* 26.).

Solent .. onerant.—Compare *Ovid. Met.* i. 121. *Hist. B. Af.* 65. *Subfugium hiemi* (*Plin.* xix. 2. 1).

CHAP. XVII.—The *sagum* was a sort of cloak which covered the shoulders and back, and amongst the Romans was worn chiefly by rustics and soldiers.

Non fluitante .. Parthi.—"Not flowing loosely." See *Lucan.* i. 430. *Pers.* iii. 53. *Juv.* ii. 169.

Artus exprimente.—"Exhibiting the shape of each limb." Comp. *Hor. Epist.* II. i. 248. *Ars. Poet.* 33.

Gerunt .. pelles.—Compare *Caes. B. G.* iv. 1.

Ripae.—*Rheni et Danubii.* So, *Nostra ripa* (*Agric.* 28).

Proximi .. negligenter... cultus—Without using much care in selecting the skins and furs. Those in the interior, having no means of procuring other kinds of dress by means of commerce, are compelled to be more particular.

Feminae .. velantur.—*Jam quidem et Transrhenani hostes vela e lino texunt, nec pulcriorem vestem eorum feminae novere* (*Plin.* xix. 1).

Partemque .. extendunt.—Dio calls the garments of the men χιτῶνες χειριδωτοί.

Brachia ac lacertos.—*Brachium* was the part from the hand to the elbow; *lacertus*, the part from the elbow to the shoulder.

CHAP. XVIII.—*Severa illic matrimonia.*—"Incontinence is checked by severe laws."

Ob nobilitatem .. ambiuntur.—As in the case of Ariovistus (*Caes. B. G.* i. 53). Virgil (*Aen.* vii. 333) uses *connubiis ambire* in a somewhat different sense.

Dotem .. offert.—Amongst the Germans wives were bought, as appears from the Saxon laws. Compare *Caes. B. G.* vi. 19.

Comatur.—*Cōmo* is not derived from *cŏma*, the hair, but is a compound of *co*(*con*) and *emo*, signifying "to put together," "arrange," "adorn." It is a word especially applied to ladies. *Dum moliuntur, dum comuntur, annus est* (*Ter. Heaut.* II. ii. 11).

In haec munera.—"Upon these presents being given;" or, "upon condition of these presents being given." In like manner, *In has leges foedus ictum et renovatum* (*Liv.* xxiii. 31. xlii. 62). *In haec* et *in id data fides* (*Liv.* xxxii. 24. 30).

Bellorum .. incipientis forms a hexameter verse.

Accipere .. referantur.—This sentence is variously interpreted. Some take *quae* to refer to the sentiments the wife was to cherish, which hardly accords with *accipere.* It can then only refer to *arma.* The editors make a difficulty about the use of *digna*, and there is some little awkwardness in having it thus used without being connected with any other word. It must mean "worthy of being trans-

mitted to her sons;" or, "worthy of the family." Nic. Heinsius proposed to transpose the words and read, *Inviolata reddat, ac digna quae*, &c.

CHAP. XIX.—*Septae pudicitia.*—So, *Omnia pudore septa* (*Liv.* iii. 44). Several editions have *septa*, which would imply that a strict guard was kept over them, to preserve them from corruption; whereas *septae* means that their own modesty was a sufficient defence against all attempts upon their honour, which agrees much better with the general sense of the description.

Nullis .. corruptae.—On the influence of the Roman games and entertainments, see *Sen. Ep.* 7.27. *Juv.* i. 55—57. xi. 162.201.202.

Litterarum secreta.—Various interpretations are given to these words. Some refer it to the art of writing in general; others, to the indelicate fables of the amours of the gods, found in the poets; others, again, to a clandestine correspondence by means of writing. The last, perhaps, agrees best with the rest of the passage.

Paucissima .. adulteria.—"Adultery is extremely rare." On the frequency of this crime at Rome under the emperors, see *Annal.* ii. 85. *Juv.* vi. 488. ix. 22.

Adcisis crinibus.—"With her hair cut short." *Adcidere* is "to cut deep into." See *Caes. B. G.* vi. 27. where he gives an account of the mode of catching the creatures called *alces*. *Ad* has the same force in *adrodo*, which should be restored in Persius (*Sat.* v. 163). *Crudum .. unguem adrodens.* Compare 1 Corin. xi. 5. *Αἰσχρὸν γυναικὶ τὸ κείρασθαι ἢ ξυρᾶσθαι.*

Saeculum.—"The fashion of the age."

Melius quidem adhuc eae civitates.—Sc. *agunt. Melius .. adhuc.* "Still better." Cicero would have used *etiam*. *Adhuc paulo minus* (*Sen. Epist.* 49). *Adhuc tenuior est* (*Epist.* 57). *Si adhuc viliorem materiam attulisses* (*Epist.* 85). *Adhuc concitatior* (*Quinct. Inst.* ii. 15. 28). *Amplior adhuc .. cumulus* (*Suet. Tib.* 17). *Qui adhuc ea diligentius tractavere* (*Plin.* xviii. 4).

Eae .. nubunt.—A practice similar to that of the suttees in India is recorded to have prevailed amongst the Heruli.

Cum spe .. transigitur.—So *Transigite cum expeditionibus* (*Agric.* 34).

Semel.—"Once for all." *Denique ut semel finiam* (*Quinct. Inst.* ix. 4).

Ex agnatis.—By *agnati* Tacitus means children born after there

was already an heir to the name and property of the father. Generally by *agnati*, in Roman law, were meant relations by the father's side. On the frequency of infanticide among the Romans, see *Annal.* iii. 25. 26. xv. 19. *Juv.* ii. 32. vi. 366—379.

Plusque .. leges.—"And good habits have more influence there, than good laws elsewhere." The Germans first began to use written laws in the fifth century.

CHAP. XX.—*Ubera* is generally used when speaking of animals.

Dominum ac servum.—The subject class amongst the ancient Germans may be divided into three branches:—1. Tributaries, composed of those who, when any country was conquered, retained their possessions, but paid an annual tribute to the conquerors for this privilege. 2. Serfs (*adscripti glebae*). 3. Common household slaves (*mancipia*).

Virtus agnoscat.—"Causes them to be recognised."

Sera juvenum Venus.—*Qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt* (*Caes. B. G.* vi. 21). In Italy, and other southern countries, the sexes arrive at maturity much sooner than amongst the northern nations. Cicero's daughter was betrothed at ten years of age, and married probably about thirteen or fourteen.

Robora .. referunt.—*Filia quae non minus mores ejus* (patris), *quam os vultumque referebat, totumque patrem mira similitudine exscripserat* (*Plin. Ep.* v. 16. 9).

Sororum .. honor.—On the death of the father, either the son became the guardian of his mother and the rest of her children, or the uncle on the mother side (avunculus) of his sister and her children.

In accipiendis .. exigunt.—In taking hostages from any one, they demand the children of his sister rather than his own children.

Heredes .. liberi.—Under the term *liberi* are here included the *nepotes* and *pronepotes*.

Quanto plus .. numerus.—*Propinqui* are those with whom there exists any relationship by blood; *cognati*, relations by the mother's side; *agnati*, relations by the father's side; *affines*, relations by marriage.

Nec ulla orbitatis pretia.—"Nor any advantage in being childless." As among the Romans. See *Annal.* xiii. 52, xv. 19. *Juv.* xii. 95.

CHAP. XXI.—*Luitur enim .. domus.*—Compare *Hom. Il.* σ. 497. foll. So Ajax, when he would set the implacable anger of Achilles in the strongest light, observes that a man is used to accept a compensation from the murderer of his brother or son; so that the one remains in his country after having paid a heavy price, and the vindictive spirit of the kinsman is stayed.

Recipitque satisfactionem universa domus.—Some interpret this to mean that the whole of the family of the injured party receives part of the fine; others, that by the payment of the fine to the prosecutor the vengeance of the whole family is satisfied. The true meaning seems to be, that the whole family of the offender becomes responsible for the payment of the fine. Such a law did exist in Germany anciently, as we learn from the *Lex. Sal. tit.* 61. *leg.* 1. 2. It was afterwards abrogated by King Childebert. A similar institution prevailed amongst the Canadian Indians, by which the village to which the offender belonged became responsible for the payment of the penalty. The use of *recipere* in the sense of "to make one's self responsible for," is not uncommon. *Promitto, recipio, spondeo, C. Caesarem talem semper fore civem, qualis hodie sit* (*Cic. Phil.* v. 18). *Mihi diligentissime se, ut annui essemus, defensurum, receperat* (*Ad. Att.* v. 17). *Si pax non impetrata ab senatu foret, obsides pecuniamque reddi Philippo receptum est* (*Liv.* xxxiii. 13).

Utiliter in publicum.—So, *In commune alacres* (*Annal.* xv. 12).

Juxta libertatem.—"When united with freedom,"—"in a free state."

Convictibus .. excipit.—*Hospites violare, fas non putant; qui quaque de causa ad eos venerint, ab injuria prohibent, sanctosque habent; iis omnium domus patent, victusque communicatur* (*Caes. B. G.* vi. 23).

Quemcumque.—*Quicumque*, for "any one, no matter who," is found in Plautus and the old poets, and in the later writers; but not usually in Cicero, who in this sense uses *quivis* or *quilibet.*

Cum defecere.—Sc. *epulae.*

Hospes means both *host* and *guest.* In its proper and original signification it meant nothing more than *stranger*. *Hostis* had the same meaning, and contains precisely the same root. The interchange of *p* and *t* appears in the words *hospes*, and its derivative *host.*

Monstrator hospitii et comes.—"Shows him another house where he may be entertained, and accompanies him thither."

Abeunti ..facilitas.—"It is the custom to give to him who is de-

parting anything he may ask, and there is the same freedom in asking in return." Comp. *Hom. Il.* ζ. 215—235. *Virg. Aen.* viii. 166.

Sed nec data inputant.—" But they neither consider that they confer an obligation by what they give." *Inputare* means to enter in one's account against a person. *Nec . . obligantur*, "nor do they hold themselves bound by what they receive." Middle voices not unfrequently occur in Latin. *e. g. Nequeo contineri* (*Plaut. Men.* 170), " I cannot restrain myself." *Devortitur* (181). In Caesar and Livy *armari* is frequently used of the soldiers arming themselves. *Statim e sommo . . lavantur* (*c.* 22). *Moveare* (*Pers. Sat.* v. 123). And many of the verbs which are called deponent are properly middle verbs; as, *nitor*, " I support myself;" *adversor*, " I oppose myself;" *apricor*, " I sun myself;" *arbitror*, properly, " I constitute myself an *arbiter*;" *comitor*, " I make myself a *comes*" (accompany); *hospitor*, " I make myself a *hospes*" (lodge); *peregrinor*, " I make myself a *peregrinus*;" *invehor*, " I inveigh against;" *pascor*, " I feed myself." Then the ablative which follows many of these verbs becomes nothing more than the ablative of the instrument.

Victus inter hospites comis.—Some editors look upon this sentence as a mere gloss, or marginal note, which has got inserted into the text. Others consider *comis* as arising from a contracted method of writing *communis* in the MSS. *Hospitibus victus communicatur* (*Caes. B. G.* vi. 23). Others take *comis* to mean " without any suspicion of deceit or treachery." Just as *comiter* is equivalent to *sine dolo malo.* See *Drak. ad Liv.* xxv. 12. xxxviii. 11.

CHAP. XXII.—*Statim . . extrahunt.*—So, *Dediti somno ciboque* (*c.* 15).

E sommo.—*E*, " immediately after;" so, ἐκ in Greek. γελᾶν ἐκ τῶν πρόσθεν δακρύων (*Xen. Cyr.* i. 4. 28). *Ab* is used in the same sense by Livy (xxii. 40). *Ab hoc sermone profectum.*

Plurimum.—" The greatest part of the year."

In almost every circumstance mentioned in this chapter, the habits of the Romans were opposed to those of the Germans. They used to rise before daylight; to play at ball or take exercise of some kind before they washed or bathed; at dinner to use seats which were joined together; by the laws of the XII. Tables they were forbidden to appear in arms in the city; to drink in the day time was esteemed disgraceful; and, lastly, mutual diffidence and distrust prevailed at their banquets.

Diem .. probrum. See *Annal.* xi. 16. *Continuare* is to make continuous. "To keep drinking day and night without intermission is disgraceful to no one."

Sed et de reconciliandis invicem inimicis .. plerumque in conviviis consultant.—Herodotus (i. 133. ii. 72) relates the same of the Persians. Homer (*Il.* ι. 225) and Plutarch (*Sympos.* vii. 9) of the Greeks.

Invicem.—"Mutually."

Tamquam .. incalescat.—*Fomitem esse quendam et ignitabulum ingenii virtutisque, si mens et corpus hominis vino flagret* (*Plato ap. Macrob. Sat.* ii. 8.). See *Hor. Od.* i. 21. 11. 12. *Ovid. Met.* ii. 87.

Simplices.—"Sincere, ingenuous, undisguised."

Astutus.—From ἄστυ.

Callidus (from *calleo*, like *avidus* from *aveo*, *turgidus* from *turgeo*, *tumidus* from *tumeo*) signifies originally "hard" or "callous," and is applied to a workman whose hands have become hard by labour. Then from the notion that practice begets skill, its later meaning is derived. *Cujus tanquam manus opere, sic animus usu concalluit* (*Cic. N. D.* iii. 10).

Aperit adhuc .. joci.—"Open moreover the secrets of their breasts in the freedom of festivity." *Aperit praecordia Liber* (*Hor. Sat.* i. 4. 89).

Detecta et nuda .. mens.—*Evoluta integumentis dissimulationis* (*Cic. de Or.* ii. 86). *Sine involucris simulationum et dissimulationum* (*Cic. ad Quinct. Fr.* i. 1). *Mens* must here be taken as meaning "plans and opinions."

Et salva utriusque temporis ratio est.—*Salva ratio* is properly used when the debtor and creditor sides of an account balance one another. So here Tacitus means to say that by the method they pursued of deliberating when they knew not how to dissemble, and deciding when there was no chance of their erring, they kept the balance even ; so that their rashness and caution mutually checked and restrained each other.

CHAP. XXIII.—*Humor .. corruptus.*—"Ale and beer."

Frumentum, originally *frugmentum*, meant any kind of fruit ; the meaning was afterwards restricted. It here means "wheat," *triticum.*

Corruptus does not necessarily imply being spoiled ; it would be applied to any natural production of which the character is completely changed by art to adapt it to the use of man. A similar beverage was in use among the Egyptians, see *Herod.* ii. 77.

Proximi ripae Rheni *et vinum mercantur.*—"Those who border on the Rhine also buy wine." *Suevi vinum ad se omnino importari non sinunt, quod ea re ad laborem ferendum remollescere homines atque effeminari arbitrantur* (*Caes. B. G.* iv. 2).

Simplex is derived from the root *sin*, meaning *one*, (which occurs in *singuli*, and is identical with the Greek ἕν,) and *plica*, which meant properly *a flat surface.* The same was the case with the English *fold*, which is the same in origin as *field.*

Pomum is a very general term, and includes any eatable fruit.

Recens fera.—"Fresh venison." *Major pars victus eorum in lacte, caseo, carne consistit* (*Caes. B. G.* vi. 22).

Lac concretum.—"Cheese," or, rather, "curds."

Chap. XXIV.—*Nudi juvenes, quibus id ludicrum est.*—"The young men who have to take part in these entertainments."

Infestas means "pointed at them." There is nothing in the word itself which implies hostility. *Festus* is only the old participle of *fero*; like *gestus* from *gero.*

Se .. saltu jaciunt.—"Throw somersets." Notice the position of the unemphatic word *se* in this sentence, and the effect it has in making *gladios* more emphatic. This species of amusement seems to have resembled the Pyrrhic dances of the Greeks.

Non in .. mercedem.—"Not as a trade, or for hire."

Aleam .. exercent.—Although the Romans were much addicted to gambling (see *Juv.* i. 88. viii. 10. xi. 174), it was esteemed disreputable, and was forbidden by the laws, except during the Saturnalia. *Cic. Phil.* ii. 23. *Hor. Od.* iii. 24. 58.

Pervicacia.—Applied properly to a person who maintains a contest till he gets the victory.

Ipsi fidem vocant.—The good faith of the ancient Germans in keeping their promises was proverbial.

Chap. XXV.—*Discriptis.*—This word, though of frequent occurrence in the MSS. is commonly altered in the editions into *descriptis*, the derivation of which does not lead to the idea of distribution. *Describere* is "to write down, to copy."

Non in nostrum morem.—The Romans went to a very great length in appointing different slaves to superintend the various departments of their domestic economy. Amongst the wealthy in later times, there

was scarcely a single household duty that was not allotted to some particular slave, who attended to that and nothing else.

Quisque.—"Each slave."

Servus hactenus paret.—"Is not bound to render any other services."

Cetera domus officia, &c.—This sentence is variously understood by different editors. Passow takes *domus* to refer to the slaves' house; but finds a difficulty in *cetera officia*, and conjectures that *liber* has been left out, so that the sentence ran, *Et servus hactenus paret cetera liber. Domus officia uxor ac liberi exsequuntur.* Others, more correctly, take *domus* as meaning "the master's house."

Verberare .. rarum.—Various laws were enacted by Servius Tullius, Augustus, Hadrian, and others, to check the cruelty of the Romans towards their slaves. See interpp. *Juv.* vi. 219. *Plin. Nat. Hist.* ix. 23.

Nisi quod inpune.—"Except that they can do it (kill their enemy) with impunity."

Liberti, &c.—In the ancient times of the republic those who were manumitted were called *liberti*, and their former master, who was *dominus* while they were *servi*, stood to them in the relation of *patronus*; the sons of the *liberti* were *libertini*; and only the grandsons of *liberti* could claim to be classed among the *ingenui*. *Libertini* is sometimes used of the *liberti*, when they are considered not in relation to the *patronus*, but as forming a class in the state; as by Tacitus, a little farther on in this chapter. Amongst the Franks, the *libertini* seldom attained to the full right of those who were free-born; they could not inherit property, or give testimony against free-born men.

Raro aliquod momentum.—So, *Grande momentum* (*Hist.* i. 59).

Quae regnantur.—"Which are governed by kings." See *c.* 43, 44. The ordinary condition and influence of the *libertini* among the Germans is strongly contrasted with that of the same class among the Romans, especially in the times of the emperors, when the pride of the nobility was so much lowered by this class.

Apud ceteros .. argumentum sunt.—The fact that freedmen are held in such light estimation is a proof of the value set upon liberty and the rights of freemen.

CHAP. XXVI.—*Fenus agitare et in usuras extendere ignotum.*—There is considerable difficulty in this sentence, which is not cleared

up by the attempts of the commentators to explain it. We want some such expression as *usuris* or *per usuras*.

Ideoque magis .. esset.—Here again there is a difficulty. Some interpret *servatur* as meaning "Is provided against," "is avoided;" but this signification is unauthorised. Others supply from the preceding sentence some such phrase as *abstinentia a fenore agitando*, for a nominative to *servatur*; but the ellipsis is extremely violent. Usury was forbidden at Rome, though in vain, by the laws of the Twelve Tables, and by various enactments made by Licinius, Genucius, Sempronius, Julius Caesar, and others. It was also forbidden amongst the Jews. *Lev.* xxv. 35—37.

Agri .. praestant.—Both the reading and meaning of this sentence are disputed. Some editors prefer *in vices*, or *per vices*; implying that the same territories were occupied by different tribes or communities in turn, to a greater or less extent, according to the number of persons to till them; and bring forward various passages to defend this, as Caesar (*B. G.* iv. 1), speaking of the Suevi, *Privati ac separati agri apud eos nihil est; neque longius anno remanere uno in loco incolendi causa licet:* and (vi. 22), speaking of the Germans, *Agriculturae non student; neque quisquam agri modum certum aut finis habet proprios, sed magistratus ac principes in annos singulos gentibus cognationibusque hominum, qui una coierunt, quantum et quo loco visum est agri attribuunt, atque anno post alio transire cogunt. Ejus rei multas afferunt causas; ne assidua consuetudine capti studium belli gerundi agricultura commutent*, &c. Also *Herod.* ii. 168. *Strabo*, vii. p. 315. Others, on the contrary, allege that the authority of Caesar in this matter is of no great weight, and that the Germans did not live in the manner of nomad tribes to such a degree as is commonly supposed; but that individuals had possessions of their own, which they retained, without any of those exchanges; and they adopt the reading *vicis*, interpreting it as meaning the communities formed by the assemblage of different clans and families; equivalent to the *gentibus cognationibusque hominum qui una coierunt*, spoken of by Caesar, and explain the passage thus:—Territories in conquered provinces are occupied by these *vici*, according to the extent of the land, and the number of those who are to till it; these lands they afterwards divide among themselves, according to their rank; and this division is facilitated by the size of the lands. Those who adopt this interpretation understand the next sentence, *Arva per annos mu-*

tant, to mean that, instead of sowing the same land every year, they change about, and suffer some plots to lie fallow, whilst others are ploughed.

Terra is opposed to *mare* and *caelum*; *solum* is "the ground;" *campus* is "a plain," or "field;" *ager* is properly "the territory round a city;" *arvum* is "ploughed land" (*arvum*, anciently *aruum*, derived from *aro*; like *pascuum* from *pasco*).

Nec enim .. contendunt.—"Nor, indeed, do they attempt, in their exertions, to rival the fertility of the soil."

Imperatur.—*Paro*, in these compounds, means "to put;" *separare*, "to put asunder;" *imperare*, "to put upon." From that meaning comes the notion of commissioning or entrusting, and then that of commanding. Virgil uses the opposite expression: *Ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono* (*Aen.* i. 3). *Agricolae habent rationem cum terra, quae nunquam recusat imperium, nec unquam sine usura reddit quae accepit* (*Cic. de Sen.* 15).

Auctumni .. bona.—Particularly the grape and olive. Tacitus was probably mistaken in saying that they had no name for this season. *Herbst*, or *herbist* (harvest) appears to have been its name.

CHAP. XXVII.—*Funerum nulla ambitio.*—"They take no pride in expensive funerals." At Rome, funerals were often extremely expensive and magnificent, and plays were acted, and gladiatorial combats exhibited, in honour of the deceased. The Adelphi of Terence was acted at the funeral of Aemilius Paulus. Sumptuary laws were enacted at various times to restrain the lavish expenditure on these occasions. *Annal.* iii. 2. *Hist.* iv. 47. *Plin.* xii. 41.

Certis lignis.—Those species of wood set apart for this purpose by law or custom.

Sua cuique .. adjicitur.—The deceased were supposed to follow the same occupations after death as in life. Similar customs are observed by the Indians, for the same reason. Comp. *Herod.* iv. 71. *Aeschyl. Ag.* 1156. *Caes. B. G.* vi. 19. *Hor. Od.* II. xiii. 21—40. On opening the tomb of one of the old Frank kings, a horse-shoe was found; the earliest specimen of the kind known.

Sepulcrum cespes erigit.—So, *Hanc domum utrum cespes erexerit, an varius lapis* (*Sen. Ep.* 8). *Tumuli*, or "barrows," containing urns in which the ashes were deposited, are of frequent occurrence in Britain, Germany, and other countries.

Monumentorum .. adspernantur. — *Arduum* is properly "steep." The mausoleums of Augustus, Hadrian, &c. are well known. See *Cic. de Legg.* ii. 23—27.

Gravem defunctis.—"Pressing heavily on the deceased." It was not uncommon to find upon monuments, *Sit tibi levis terra*; or, *Sit tibi gravis terra*; or, *Urgeat ossa lapis*; or, Κούφη γῆ τοῦτον καλύπτοι.

Feminis .. meminisse.—So, *Vir prudens meminisse perseveret, lugere desinat* (*Sen. Ep.* 99).

Singularum gentium.—*Gens* and *natio* (originally *gnatio*) include properly those who have a common origin; *populus* and *civitas*, those who have the same constitution, and obey the same laws.

CHAP. XXVIII.—In enumerating the different tribes of Germany, Tacitus follows this order:—In *c.* 28, he speaks of those who did not properly belong to Germany; in *c.* 29—34, of those who inhabited the banks of the Rhine, towards the west; in *c.* 35—37, of those who dwelt on the banks of the Rhine, towards the north; in *c.* 38—41. we have the members of the Suevic league enumerated; in *c.* 42, 43, those who dwelt along the Danube; in *c.* 44, 45, those who bordered on the Northern Ocean; in *c.* 46, those who dwelt beyond the ocean, partly fabulous people.

Our information concerning the geography of ancient Germany is very scanty and uncertain. The Greek and Roman writers, from whom our knowledge of it is derived, knew very little about it themselves. (For the sources of their information, see Notes on *c.* 1, 2.) Caesar's acquaintance with the localities and habits of different tribes, which he gained chiefly from report, and not from personal observation, is extremely imperfect, and often incorrect. Strabo wrote in the age of Tiberius, when the Romans possessed a more accurate knowledge of Germany than at any other time, through the expeditions of Tiberius, Drusus, and Germanicus. After this period the Romans were almost entirely shut out of Germany. Strabo, however, is exceedingly careless. He did not read even Caesar's Gallic war with sufficient attention to understand it; and confuses almost every thing which he extracts from the accounts brought home by Pytheas. Our difficulties are, moreover, increased by the inaccuracy of the text. Pomponius Mela is worth nothing. Pliny, likewise, was very careless, as we see, even in what he says of Italy; we cannot, therefore, look for much accuracy in his account of Germany. His work is principally valuable

for the proper names. The imperfect character of the geographical knowledge which Tacitus possessed of Germany is manifest from this work of his upon the subject. Ptolemy has ventured to give a map of Germany, and to lay down the latitudes and longitudes of a number of towns and mouths of rivers. The greater part of these he never visited himself; and who, in that age, could have furnished him with the requisite information? Indeed, his map bears but a faint resemblance to the actual shape and features of Germany; and in the majority of instances, it can with difficulty be determined whether the towns he mentioned existed at all. There is this additional disadvantage in his book, that he defines positions by numbers, which, of all things, are the most liable to alteration through the mistakes of the transcribers. One of the most valuable geographical monuments of antiquity, Antoninus's Itinerary, compiled under the direction of J. Caesar and Antony or Augustus, is available only for a few roads on the frontier. The Peutingerian Table is frequently of use in making maps; since, though the countries are excessively distorted, the distances between the towns laid down on it are given: but it is of scarcely any service in the case of Germany. Inscriptions and coins, again, which afford some of the best means of defining the situations of places, are of rare occurrence in Germany. But in addition to all these difficulties and disadvantages, the wandering and unsettled character of the Germans themselves renders it totally impossible to lay down a map which should represent the relative positions of the tribes at any one period, or for any length of time, though we can generally determine the position which individual tribes occupied at some time or other. This is seen from the wide discrepancies between Tacitus and his contemporaries, and Ptolemy, and from such glimpses as history affords us of the migrations of several of the tribes. (See Notes on the Boii, Usipii, Tencteri, Dulgibini, Cauci, Langobardi, Gothini, &c.)

Validiores .. tradit.—See *Caes. B. G.* vi. 24. *Nam Gallos quoque in bonis floruisse accepimus: mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate. Quod Britannorum olim victis evenit* (*Agr.* 11).

Eoque .. transgressos.—See *Caes. B. G.* vi. 24.

Divisas.—Some MSS. have *diversas. Diversi* is used in the sense of *separated* in *Annal.* xv. 56.

Igitur.—For a similar use of *igitur* at the beginning of a period, see *Agr.* 13.

Hercyniam silvam.—This was the general name of the large mountain chain which separates the interior of Germany from the tracts adjacent to the Danube; commencing with the Black Forest, running northward till it crosses the Mayn, then eastward, comprising what are now called the Spessart Wald and Franken Wald, through Bohemia and the north of Hungary. *Caes. B. G.* vi. 25. *Strabo*, vii. pp. 207. 290. 292. *Plin.* xvi. 2. *Ptol.* ii. 11. These writers, however, do not all quite agree in their description. Ptolemy assigns much narrower limits to the name, and applies it to the ridge between the Gabretan Forest and the Sarmatian Mountains, which unite the Carpathian and Sudetan Mountains. Caesar's account of it was derived from report: at a later period the Romans, in their wars with Maroboduus, whose possessions lay among the Böhmer Wald Mountains, became personally acquainted with it. Different names were afterwards given to the several subdivisions of this chain. *Silva Marciana* was the Schwarz Wald, or Black Forest: this name became known to the Romans in their war with the Alemanni: it is found in the Peutingerian Table. The Helvetii had inhabited it in former times, but were expelled by the wandering Suevi; Ptolemy called it τὴν Ἑλουηττίων ἔρημον. The name Abnoba, which belongs to the ridge in which the Danube rises (see *c.* 1), was given by Ptolemy to a chain of mountains which he makes to run parallel to the Rhine, from the Mayn, to the source of the Amisia (*Ems*), which, according to him, rises in it. From Fichtelberg eastward through Bohemia to Moravia, where it meets with the Hercynian chain, runs a ridge called by Ptolemy Mount Sudeta. South of this, following what is now called the Böhmer Wald, but extending to a greater breadth towards the north, lay the Gabretan Forest (ἡ Γάβρητα ὕλη). On each side of the river March lay the Forest of Luna. The most eastern range, extending from the Danube, where it turns southward, to the Carpathian Mountains, is called by Ptolemy the Sarmatic Mountains. These are the mountains and forests which are frequently, by the Roman writers, comprehended under the name of the Hercynian Forest.

Helvetii, ulteriora Boii, Gallica utraque gens, tenuere.—See *Caes. B. G.* i. 1—6. 25. 28, 29. The settlements of the once powerful Boii are found in Gaul; and along both sides of the Danube from its source eastward, probably as far as the mouth of the Enns; towards the south, stretching to the mountains which separate Tyrol from Bavaria. The eastern part of Swabia, with the whole of Bavaria and Bohemia, which

took their names from them (Bavaria having been originally *Boiaria*), belonged to them. They also occupied part of Moravia, and had settlements on the banks of the Po. Whether Gaul or Germany was their original country is uncertain : if the former, it would seem that they accompanied the first Gallic migration mentioned by Livy and others, and followed Segovesus into Germany, settling in Bohemia; but the facts that, for the most part, the tide of migration set in westward, and that Bohemia has retained its name to this day, seem to point to Germany as their original home. From Bohemia they were expelled by the Marcomanni, and settled in Noricum and Bavaria, where Boiodurum (Innstadt) took its name from them. At some period or other, but when is uncertain, they crossed the Alps, and established themselves in Italy between the Tarus, the Silarus, and the Apennines. They were subdued by the Romans under Scipio Nasica, and afterwards removed to the banks of the Drave. After this they were almost subdued in wars with the Getae, and an extensive tract in this part was called *Deserta Boiorum* (*Plin.* iii. 24). Some of the Boii accompanied Brennus in his invasion of Greece, and joined that part of his army which passed into Asia Minor, and settled in the country called from them Galatia, where one of the three divisions of the people bore the name Tolistoboii. Some of the Boii also joined the Helvetii when they migrated into Gaul, and were allowed by Caesar to settle amongst the Aedui. See *Plin.* iii. 20, 21. iv. 32. *Polyb.* i. 17. ii. 20.

Boiemum, or *Boihemum*, probably means, "the home of the Boii" (heim, heimath). Some, however, suppose that, by *Boiemum* is meant what Caesar calls *oppidum Boiorum* (*B. G.* vii. 9) in Gallia, now Beaujolois.

Significare.—"To hint at."

Sed utrum .. commigraverint.—There is something faulty in this sentence. *Ab Osis, Germanorum natione*, is contradicted by what Tacitus says in c. 43. *Osos Pannonica lingua coarguit non esse Germanos.* Some editors, however, suppose that in this passage their settlements only are referred to. The Aravisci are placed by some between the Arabo (Raab) and the Danube; and the Osi in Austria, below the mouth of the Anisia (Enns).

Utriusque ripae.—"There were the same advantages and disadvantages on both sides of the river;" *i. e.* the Danube.

Treveri et Nervii.—The Treveri dwelt between the Meuse and the

Rhine. Their chief towns were:—Augusta Treverorum (*Trier*), the largest and most opulent city of Gallia, the residence of the emperors from Constantine the Great to Valens; Noviomagus, Confluentes (*Coblentz*), Bingium, and others. The Nervii lived between the Mosa, Scaldis (*Scheld*), and Sabis (*Sambre*). See *Caes. B. G.* ii. 4. 15—28.

Circa .. originis.—See *Caes. B. G.* vi. 24. So *Publica circa bonas artes socordia* (*Annal.* xi 15).

A similitudine .. separentur.—See c. 29. *Agr.* 11.

Ne Ubii quidem. — The Ubii were the allies of Caesar against the Suevi, and were afterwards transported to the left bank of the Rhine by Agrippa (B. C. 38). By *origine* is meant their German origin, before they became a colony; since it was hardly likely that a people, who had been made a colony of by the Romans, and placed in a post of trust, as Tacitus says, *Ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur*, should blush for this honour. Some editors, however, have referred *origine* to Agrippina.

Conditoris sui nomine.—We have no direct evidence as to who founded the colony. The town was generally called *Colonia Agrippina*, which would mean the colony of Agrippa, and Agrippa was engaged in this quarter on two occasions. Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, was born there; and it is generally supposed that the town took its name from her. It is possible that it was originally founded by Agrippa; and that, as was not unfrequently the case, a second colony was sent out by Agrippina to strengthen the first. See *Annal.* xii. 27. *Hist.* iv. 28. *Caes. B. G.* iv. 3.

Experimento fidei.—So, *Per octo annos capto experimento* (*Ann.* iii. 56).

CHAP. XXIX.—*Batavi .. colunt.*—The Batavi occupied the island formed by the Vahalis (*Waal*) and Mosa (*Meuse*); and also that formed by the Rhine, the Waal, and the ocean. They occupied also a small tract on the banks of the Rhine, not included in the *insula Batavorum*, as it is called by Caesar (*B. G.* iv. 10). The *Batavi* became the allies of the Romans under Augustus. Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, dug the canal called the *Fossa Drusiana*, which joins the Rhine and Yssel. On the north-western part of the island dwelt another people of the same origin as the Batavi, the Canninefates (*Hist.* iv. 15); their chief town was Lugdunum Batavorum (*Leyden*). The chief towns of the Batavi were Batavodurum, after-

wards called Noviomagus *(Nymegen)*, Arenacum *(Arnheim)*, and Trajectum *(Utrecht)*, The name *Batavi* is preserved in that of *Betuwe*, the name of the district included between the Rhine of Leyden, the Waal, and the Lek. After the death of Galba, when the army on the Rhine followed Vitellius to Rome, Claudius Civilis roused them to a revolt, which was shortly afterwards suppressed. They were employed by Agricola in his wars in Britain *(Agr.* 36). *Caes. B. G.* iv. 10. *Plin.* iv. 15. The changes which have taken place in the land in this quarter, render the geography somewhat difficult. In the time of Tacitus, most of the Zuyder Zee was dry land. The rivers, especially the Rhine, have very much altered their courses.

Ripa — When *ripa* is used alone, in speaking of the Rhine, it generally means the left bank.

Mattiacorum gens.—The Mattiaci, like the Batavi, probably a branch of the Catti, dwelt on the right bank of the Rhine, in Wetterau and Hesse Darmstadt, the tract possessed by the Ubii before they crossed the Rhine, between the Moenus *(Mayn)* and Logana *(Lahn)*. They are first mentioned by Tacitus *(Annal.* xi. 20); for Strabo and Dio speak of the Catti as inhabiting this region. In the war of the Batavi, together with the Usipii and Catti they besieged Magontiacum *(Mayence)*. After their territories were occupied by the Alemanni, their name was almost extinguished. Their capital was Mattium, the site of which is not well determined, and is variously placed at Maden, Altwetter, and Matten, or Metz. The first is the most likely. Aquae Mattiacae *(Wisbaden)* was another of their towns.

Ultra Rhenum .. terminos.—*Populi Romani imperium Rhenum finire* (*Caes. B. G.* iv. 16).

Nisi quod .. animantur.—" Except that, from the nature of the land and climate itself, they still retain more spirit." Their country is mountainous.

Decumates agros.—This is not a proper name belonging to any tribe or place; but was applied to lands conquered by the Romans, in which, for the sake of security, that no hostile tribes might dwell close to their borders, they allowed Gauls or Roman soldiers to settle, who were charged with the payment of a tithe to the Romans. The Romans very commonly exacted a tithe from those who occupied the public lands; the greater part of Sicily was taxed in this way. Compare *Annal.* xiii. 54. *Caes. B. G.* vi. 23. The situation of these lands is variously laid down by different authors: some place them on the banks of the Neckar;

others between the Lahn and the Mayn; and on the banks of the Danube, opposite the province of Raetia; or within the Roman vallum, reaching from Magontiacum to the Danube, near the source of which lay the territories of the Marcomanni, which the Romans took possession of, after Maroboduus removed to Bohemia. Drusus Germanicus, having built a fort on Mount Taunus, seems to have laid the first foundation of the *limes* inclosing the *Decumates agri*, which was gradually advanced, especially by Trajan and Hadrian, and fortified. Though the occupation of these lands depended on the will of the emperors, towns gradually sprung up in them. There are still remains of a Roman wall running from Ingolstadt on the Danube, past Dinkelsbühl and Oehringen, to the Mayn. Towards the end of the third century, these lands were wrested from the Romans by the Alemanni, whom Julian and Valentinian in vain endeavoured to expel.

Dubiae possessionis.—At first these lands lay beyond the Roman boundary, and were unprotected against the incursions of the hostile Germans.

Limitem agere.—"To run a boundary line."

Sinus imperii.—"A nook or corner of the empire."

Pars provinciae. — The province of *Germania Cisrhenana*, or of *Raetia*.

Chap. XXX. — *Ultra hos.*—"The tribes before mentioned, not those who occupied the *agri Decumates*.

Catti.—The Catti were separated from the Cherusci by the Forest of Bacenis (*c.* 35. *Caes. B. G.* vi. 10). It is doubtful whether by this is meant the Harz Mountains, or the west part of the Thüringer Wald. The latter is the more probable. In the middle ages, the forest extending from Fulda to the Thüringer Wald bore the name of Buchonia. The Sala Franconiae, with the Spessart and Rhön Gebirge, formed the boundary between them and the Hermunduri (*Annal.* xiii. 57). On the east, their territories were bounded by the Werra. On the south, they reached to the Mayn and the Hercynian Forest. After they took possession of the district abandoned by the Ubii when they crossed the Rhine, their territory extended to that river, between the Lahn and the Mayn. On the north, they bordered on a branch of the Chauci, so that the Weser formed their boundary in this direction. On the west, the Tencteri were their neighbours; so that in this quarter they reached to the Mount Abnoba of Ptolemy (see *c.*

28). Thus their territory comprehended that of the modern Hessians, Fulda, the earldoms of Hanau and Isenburg, so much of Franconia as lies north of the Mayn to the mouth of the Saale, part of Nassau, and the eastern portion of the duchy of Westphalia. Their principal towns were Νουαίσιον (Nienhus) in Westphalia, Μηλοκαύος (Melschede); and Τραυϊονάριον (Grevener). Their name is the same as that of the Hessians: *c* in Latin becomes *h* in German; as in *caput* haupt, *canis* hund, *cannabis* hanf, &c.: *s* and *t* are freely interchangeable; as in *das* that, *es* it, *wasser* water, &c. The Catti were defeated by Drusus; but, some time afterwards they destroyed Varus and his legions. In the reign of Tiberius, Germanicus overran the country; but they continued in arms against the Romans for many years after, and aided the revolt of the Batavi in the reign of Vitellius (*Annal.* i. 55. 56. ii. 7. 25. *Hist.* iv. 37). They were also engaged in war with the Hermunduri, by whom they were nearly extirpated (*Annal.* xiii. 57), and with the *Cherusci* (*G.* 36). See *Agr.* c. 39, note.

Effusis is nearly equivalent to *porrectis*, or *planis*.

In quas Germania patescit.—"Into which Germany spreads itself."

Durant .. *rarescunt.*—Since the hills here are not isolated hills; but continue-for-a-long-distance, and gradually subside.

Prosequitur.—When a magistrate left Rome to take the command of a province, it was usual for his friends to escort him part of the way: the term used for this was *prosequi.*

Deponit.—Where the ridge sinks down, and the chain is broken. It then bends to the east and leaves the Catti.

Stricti artus.—"Compact limbs."

Ut inter Germanos.—"Considering they are Germans." The Germans, generally, were deficient in these qualities.

Praeponere electos.—"To place in the front rank their bravest soldiers."

Occasiones.—"Fitting opportunities." So *Agr.* 14. 18. 27.

Disponere diem.—"To assign to each part of the day its proper duty." So, *Pers.* v. 43.

Vallare noctem.—"To fortify themselves during the night."

Nec nisi Romanae disciplinae concessum.—In the age of Tacitus, the wars carried on by the Romans were only against undisciplined bar-barbarians; so that order and discipline might, with some reason, be claimed as peculiar to the Romans.

Ferramentis.—As axes, spades, pickaxes, &c.

Copiis.—Provisions and corn.

Alios .. videas.—"Intent only on the first battle." *Videas*, "you may see." Compare, *Bonum virum facile crederes (Agr. c.* 44), "you would easily have believed him a good man." *Eorum sacra deprehendas (Agr. c.* 11).

Fortuita pugna.—"Skirmish."

Cito cedere.—"Quickly to give up the victory."

Velocitas juxta formidinem.—"Speed borders upon fear."

CHAP. XXXI.—*Et aliis .. vertit.*—"What among other tribes is done by a few, inflamed with more than ordinary boldness, amongst the Catti has become a regular and received custom." *Vertit* for *conversum est.* See *Bentl. ad Hor. Carm.* IV. x. 5. *Gell.* xviii. 12. Τρέπει is used in a neuter sense by *Soph. Ant.* 1107. So μεταστρέφειν (*Eur. Hipp.* 1226). Tacitus uses the subjunctive, *adoleverint*, and *absolvat*, a little farther on, because he is speaking of a custom.

Obligatumque virtuti oris habitum.—"By which they have bound themselves to a life of daring."

Revelant frontem.—By cutting their hair and shaving their beard.

Pretia nascendi rettulisse.—"That they have paid the debt of their birth,—the debt they owed to their country and parents for having been born." The perfect of the verbs *refero*, *reperio*, *repello*, should be spelled with two consonants, having been originally *retetuli*, *repeperi*, *repepuli*.

Fortissimus .. gestat.—It was very common in the middle ages, for those who were under a vow of penance, to wear an iron ring till they had fulfilled it. On the customs in use among other nations of antiquity, as incitements to warlike valour, see *Arist. Pol.* vii. 2. Among the Macedonians, no one was allowed to sit down at table till he had killed a boar *Athen.* i. 18. *a.*

Plurimis Cattorum hic placet habitus.—They retain this appearance even after they have slain an enemy, as though they were bound by a vow from which they could only be released by death.

Jamque.—"And at last."

Visu nova.—Because this custom prevails only among the Catti. *Nova* is here equivalent to *inusitata.* So, *Nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum aspectum* (c. 43). *Prima* belongs to the subject

of the sentence; *visa nova* is the predicate. The assertion in this sentence hardly accords with what in the next sentence, as the text stands, is given as the reason; and other words have been proposed instead of nova, as *torva*, *saeva*, *nota*. Probably for *nam* we should have *quamquam*, which would be written in the MSS. *q'q'm*, from which *nam* may have arisen.

Nulli .. aluntur.—Caesar (*B. G.* iv. 1) says of the Suevi:—*Hi centum pagos habere dicuntur, ex quibus quotannis singula milia armatorum bellandi causa ex finibus educunt. Reliqui qui domi manserint, se atque illos alunt.*

CHAP. XXXII.—*Certum jam alveo Rhenum.*—Where the stream is now confined within fixed limits, and does not form so many branches and lakes as in the country of the Batavi. *Alveo*, in what relates to the bed of the river.

Usipii ac Tencteri.—These two tribes generally go together, both in geography and history. They frequently changed their settlements. When driven from their own possessions by the Catti, whom Caesar calls Suevi (*B. G.* iv. 1. 4), after wandering in Germany for three years, they came to the Rhine; and having crossed it, seized upon the lands and dwellings of the Menapii, Eburones, and Condrusi, between the Rhine and Moselle. From this point they spread farther into Gaul; but having been put to flight by Caesar, after a great slaughter, the greater part of the remainder perished in attempting to cross the Rhine. A part of the cavalry, which had not been engaged in the battle, took refuge in the territories of the Sigambri. When the Sigambri removed to Gaul, the Usipii and Tencteri became masters of their possessions on the Lupia (*Lippe*). The Usipii at first dwelt on the east bank of the Rhine from its eastern mouth to the Lippe in the tract which the Chamavi and Tubantes occupied before them; but they gradually moved southwards. In the time of Claudius and Nero, they dwelt between the Sieg and the Lahn, where they were still in the time of Tacitus. In the time of Ptolemy, they inhabited the northern part of the Black Forest. The name of the Usipii disappears from history after the time of Agricola; they became mixed up with the Alemanni. The Tencteri lived south of the Lippe, in the region opposite Cöln and Bonn. At the time of the expeditions of Drusus and Tiberius, they had removed eastward; but returned after the defeat of Varus: and in the age of Tacitus, their possessions ex-

tended northwards to the Lippe, where they bordered on the Bructeri, and southwards to the Sieg. Their eastern boundary, according to Ptolemy, was Mount Abnoba, or the ridge which runs northwards between the earldom of Mark and the duchy of Westphalia. *Caes. B. G.* iv. 1—18. *Dio*, xxxix. 47, 48. liv. 21. 32, 33.

Equestris disciplinae arte praecellunt. — See *Caes. B. G.* iv. 2. 11, 12. 16.

CHAP. XXXIII.—The Bructeri (called Βουσάκτεροι, by Ptolemy), in all their wars with the Romans, never changed their seats. Towards the west, they reached to the Vech; towards the south, to the Lippe; towards the east, almost to the Weser; and towards the north, they bordered on the Frisii and Cauci. Along the Lippe, their territories extended probably from Lippstadt to Haltern (*Strabo*, vii. p. 291); that they reached eastward at least as far as Lippstadt we gather from Tacitus (*Annal.* i. 60). For some time, while the Romans were superior in this quarter, they seem to have retired from the Lippe; but they afterwards returned. The Bructeri were divided into the *B. Majores*, who dwelt on the east, and the *B. Minores*, who dwelt on the west of the Amisia (*Ems*). They remained in their old settlements till the Cherusci, under the common name of Franks, united all the tribes of this part in one league, and henceforth we find them on the banks of the Rhine. Towards the end of the first century, they were subdued by the Chamavi and Angrivarii, and, according to Tacitus extirpated. But in this he is most probably mistaken; for we find the Roman commander, Spurinna, engaged with them in the reign of Trajan; and in later times they appear as a powerful people among the Franks. Their name was finally lost when they were overpowered by the Saxons. It appears for the last time in a letter of Pope Gregory III. about the year 720, where they are called *Borthari.* Their principal towns were, Osnabruga, Μεδιολάνιον (Meteln), Βογάδιον (Bocholt), and Στερεόντιον (Steinfurt). The original country of the Chamavi was the tract which extended northwards to the Vech, eastwards to the Ems, southwards to the Lippe, and westwards to the eastern mouth of the Rhine. At a later period, they lived between the Weser and the Harz Mountains, in Eichfeld, and a part of Grubenhagen and Hohenstein. In the third century they are again found on the Rhine, as members of the Frank league; and in the next century, they spread themselves along the Waal. Tacitus has

most probably committed a mistake in placing them in the country of the Bructeri (vide *supra*). The Angrivarii dwelt on the east of the Weser, between the Cauci and Cherusci, extending over a part of Lüneberg and Calenberg to the Steinhuder See, which formed the boundary between them and the Cherusci, and on both sides of the river Aller. The Leine seems to have formed their south-eastern boundary. On the north-east they reached to the neighbourhood of the Elbe. It appears that they dwelt also on the west of the Visurgis (*Annal.* ii. 8). Traces of their name are still found near the Elbe, in *Angern*, *Engern*, *Engershausen*, *Angermünde*, &c.

Nam ne spectaculo quidem proelii invidere.—*Spectaculo* is in the ablative case; *invidere* governs a dative of the person,—"For the gods did not begrudge us even in the matter of allowing us to be spectators of a battle."

In urgentibus imperii fatis.—"When the empire is in a critical state."

Hostium discordiam.—For a history of some of these internal dissensions among the Germanic tribes, see *Annal.* ii. 26. 44—46. 62. *Agr.* xii.

CHAP. XXXIV.—*A tergo.*—On the east.

Dulgibini.—These people are called Δουλγούμνιοι by Ptolemy, who places them on the eastern bank of the Weser, in the southern part of Calenberg, and the western half of Grubenhagen. But this was not the position in which Tacitus knew them. He places them in the rear of the Chamavi and Angrivarii, in what was once the territory of the Bructeri (see *c.* 33); accordingly, their territories would lie between the Ems and the Lippe, where the town of Dulgibinum (Dulmen) was situated. They belonged to the Cherusci, and were apparently driven eastwards by the same eruption of the Cauci as that which expelled the Angrivarii. *Ptol.* ii. 11. *Strabo* vii. 44.

Chasuari.—Ptolemy places their settlements on the western side of the Weser, between the Haase and the sources of the Lippe, in Osnaburg and Paderborn. They were a tribe of the Cherusci; and afterwards appear among the Franks on the western part of the lower Rhine, in the dukedom of Gelders. They were conquered by Tiberius and Germanicus. *Vell.* ii. 118.

Aliaeque gentes.—As the Ansibarii, Tubantes, Turonii, Nertereani, Danduti, Marvingi, &c.

Frisii.—The *Frisii minores* inhabited the tract north of the *Insula Batavorum*, comprising Oberyssel Gelders, Utrecht, and the greater part of the province of Holland. The *Frisii majores* dwelt between the Yssel, the Ems, and the country of the Bructeri in West Friesland, and Gröningen. The *Frisiabones*, mentioned by Pliny, probably formed a part of the same race, and seem to have dwelt in the islands of the Zuyder Zee. From their first acquaintance with the Romans, they long continued their most zealous friends in this part: they rendered Drusus the most active service; and not only supported Germanicus themselves, by their advice and service, but bought over the Cauci also. The cause of this friendship is, probably, to be found in the hostility which existed between them and the Cherusci, against whom all these enterprises of the Romans were directed. It was interrupted, however, in consequence of the Romans building forts in their territories, and attempting to levy tribute. They rose upon the Romans, massacred the soldiers who were among them, and destroyed most of their strongholds. Corbulo, the Roman general, proceeded against them; but the jealousy of Claudius Caesar stopped his conquests, and he was obliged to withdraw to the left bank of the Rhine. From this time forward, the Romans no more entered their country. In the fourth and fifth centuries, we hear of them as members of the Saxon league; and by this time they had greatly extended their possessions. On the east, they reached to the Weser, and along the coast they held some posts as far as the Elbe; on the west, their name appears more than once in the Batavian island, on the Meuse and Scheldt, and on the whole coast of Flanders. They accompanied the Saxons in their invasion and conquest of Britain. They were first humbled by Pipin the elder, who defeated their king, Radbod, and subdued the western part of their country as far as the eastern mouth of the Rhine. His successor, Poppo, attempted to recover it; but was repulsed by Charles Martel. Charlemagne added the eastern part of their kingdom to his other Saxon conquests. They gained possession of the Batavian island in the time of the emperor Julian. They were anciently governed by two princes. Their descendants, who still retain their name, inhabit the small islands on the western coast of Schleswig. See *Ptol.* ii. 11. *Annal.* ii. 24. iv. 72, 73. xi. 18—20. xiii. 54. *Plin.* iv. 15. 29. 31.

Praetexuntur.—Literally, "Are edged."

Inmensos insuper lacus.—Anciently, the Zuyder Zee was mostly

dry land, consisting of islands formed partly by the sand heaped up by the sea, partly by the depositions of the Rhine. These islands were afterwards overflowed by the sea; but may still be traced in the numerous shallows and sand-banks with which this sea abounds. *Annal.* ii. 6. *Caes. B. G.* iv. 10.

Romanis classibus navigatos.—See *Annal.* i. 70. ii. 5.

Herculis columnas.—At the *Sound*, between Denmark and Sweden.

Druso Germanico.—Drusus was the brother of Tiberius, and step-son of Augustus.

Mox nemo temptavit.—[*Tentavit* in the text ought to be *temptavit*, since the best MSS. of Tacitus always write this word in the latter manner.] The editors generally interpret this as meaning that no one, after Drusus, ventured upon this sea, and accordingly are puzzled to reconcile this with what Tacitus says in his Annals (ii. 6. 23, 24). This arises from misunderstanding the meaning of *mox*; which, so far from signifying that no one sailed on this sea after Drusus, implies that some one did do so, but that the expeditions of the Romans in this quarter were soon abandoned. The other sense would require *postea*.

CHAP. XXXV.—*Novimus.*—"We have examined."

Ingenti flexu.—This bend is formed by the Cimbric Chersonesus; which Tacitus conceived to be rather curved and round, than angular and pointed.

Caucorum gens.—The Cauci dwelt along the ocean from the Amisia to the Albis, and reached southwards somewhat below what is now Ostfriesland, Oldenburg, and Bremen, although along the Weser these boundaries often changed. Pliny and Ptolemy divide them into the greater and the less; though Tacitus does not make this distinction here, he alludes to it in his Annals (xi. 19); and we gather from him that the *Cauci majores* dwelt between the Amisia and the Visurgis; accordingly the *Cauci minores* must be looked for between the Visurgis and the Albis. Ptolemy assigns them rather narrower limits; as in his time the western Cauci were more confined than in the age of Tacitus. The Cauci were friends of the Romans in the expedition of Drusus, and still more so in that of Tiberius (*Annal.* i. 60. ii. 17). Even after the disaster of Varus, they continued their friendship, and Germanicus made all his expeditions against the Cherusci from this side. But here again the Romans roused the enmity of their allies,

by pursuing the policy which we have seen attended with similar results in the case of the Frisii. Under Gannascus, they crossed the Rhine, and made incursions on the Roman province of Germania Inferior (*Annal.* xi. 18); but were repulsed by Corbulo. They afterwards aided Civilis in the Batavian war (*Hist.* iv. 79. v. 19). Even after the expulsion of the Romans, they continued the enemies of the Cherusci, and felt themselves powerful enough to drive this people from the west bank of the Weser, while they ejected the Ansibarii (*Annal.* xiii. 55), and perhaps some more southerly branches of the Cherusci, from their possessions along the Weser; and it is only after this that the remark of Tacitus applies to them, that the southern angle of their territory bordered on one side on the Cherusci, and on the other on the Catti. But the Langobardi, pressing westwards to the Rhine, established themselves in all the lands which had belonged to the Cherusci and their allies; and in the time of Ptolemy the Cauci were reduced within their original boundaries. Ptolemy (ii. 11) mentions, as their towns, Φαβίρανον (Brema, or Varel), Λεύφανα (Lüneburg, Lauenburg, Buxtehuda, or Lübbethene), Τεκέλια (Oldenbrook, Elsfleth, or Zetel), Τουλίφουρδον (Verda, or Döhlbergen), Σιατουτάνδα (Utende), Τευδέριον (Detern). Their name is still preserved in that of their harbour, *Cuxhaven.* Pliny (xvi. 1) says:—*Vasto ibi meatu in immensum agitur oceanus—dubiumque terra sit an pars maris. Illic, misera gens tumulos obtinet altos, casis impositis, navigantibus similes, quum integant aquae circumdata, naufragis vero, quum recesserint; fugientesque cum mari pisces circa tuguria venantur.*

Inpotentia, i. e. *inpotentia sui.*—Want of command over one's passions. *Muliebris inpotentia* (*Annal.* i. 4). *Mater inpotens* (*Annal.* v. 1). See *Cic. Tusc.* iv. 15. *Nunquam potentia sua ad impotentiam usus* (*Vell.* ii. 29).

Nulla provocant bella.—So, *Hist.* ii. 61. *Agr.* 42.

Idque praecipuum.. adsequuntur.—"And this fact is a principal proof of their valour and prowess, that," &c. So Thucydides makes the Corinthians say:—Τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ὁμοίους ἰσχυρωτέρα δύναμις.

Chap. XXXVI.—*Cherusci.*—The tribe of the Cherusci must be carefully distinguished from the league of the Cherusci. As a tribe, their possessions lay in the Harz Mountains, and on both sides of them, but chiefly on the south, where the north-west part of the Thüringer Wald separated them from the Catti. The Sala (Saale) probably formed their eastern boundary; so that their territory com-

prehended the duchies of Brunswick and Magdeburg, with the principalities of Halberstadt, Schwarzburg, Grubenhagen, and Calenberg. The name Harz is derived from that of Cherusci: in the Peutingerian Table they are called Crherstini. See *Ptol.* ii. 11. *Caes. B. G.* vi. 10. *Strabo*, vii. 1. 3, 4. Ptolemy places them only on the south side of the Harz Mountains; but the expeditions of Germanicus show that they dwelt on the north side also. A wall built between the Steinhuder See and the Weser separated them from the Angrivarii (*Annal.* ii. 19). The Aller probably formed their boundary on the north and east, up to the point where it meets the Leine. They were at first in alliance with Rome; and Arminius commanded a squadron of German cavalry in the Roman army, and so far distinguished himself that he was made a Roman knight. Afterwards, roused by this leader, the Cherusci joined the Catti and others in the attack upon Varus; for a history of which, see *Annal.* i. 59—63. ii. 9—26. They were afterwards defeated by Germanicus (*Annal.* ii. 17). Their strength, however, was not much broken; for the following year they defeated the Marcomanni under Maroboduus, and were now, through the courage and conduct of Arminius, the first people in Germany. The Cheruscan league included the Dulgibini, Ansibarii, Chasuarii, Chamavi, Tubantes, and Marsi. These and other small tribes are frequently called Cherusci. Thus the land between the sources of the Lippe and the Weser, in all the accounts of the transactions before the defeat of Varus, is called the land of the Cherusci. But the power and influence which Arminius had acquired roused the jealousy of other princes, and he was murdered by some of his own family. With him fell the greatness of the Cherusci. Internal dissensions ruined the whole family of their ancient princes. In the reign of Claudius they sent to Rome to ask, as king, Italicus, a descendant of the family of Arminius, who was born at Rome. Being, however, looked upon as an alien, he was driven out, but was reinstated by the Langobardi (*Annal.* xi. 16, 17). Their league was speedily dissolved; feuds arose between them and the neighbouring tribes, and a considerable portion of their territory was wrested from them by the Langobardi, and they were driven from the west of the Thüringer Wald by the Catti. Ptolemy mentions, as towns belonging to them, Μοισούϊον, Λεῦπτα, Ἀργίλια, Βικούρδιον, &c.; the sites of which cannot be determined with any accuracy.

Inpotentes, i. e. *inpotentes sui.*—See *c.* 35.

Ubi manu agitur.—"Where matters are decided by the sword."

Modestia .. sunt.—*Probitas*, "mildness:" *probus* is connected with the Greek πραϝύς. *Improbus labor* (*Virg. Georg.* i. 146) merely means "violent labour." Moderation and mildness are ascribed, not to the weak and inactive, but to those who possess the power of injuring their neighbours without abusing it.

Boni aequique Cherusci.—Some derive the name from an old word, *cherusk*, meaning *just*.

Nunc inertes ac stulti vocantur.—*Thuringi*, derived from the word *thoring*, "stupid."

Cattis victoribus.—See *Annal.* xii. 28. *Dio*, lxvii. 5.

Cattis victoribus .. cessit.—"The success of the Catti, which was due to their good fortune, has, since they gained the mastery, been placed to the account of their wisdom."

Tacti ruina.—As if by a contagious disease.

Fosi.—The name of this tribe is connected with that of the river Fusa, which flows into the Aller near Zelle. They were annihilated by the Langobardi.

Chap. XXXVII.—*Eundem Germaniae sinum.*—Codanus is the name given to it by Pomponius Mela. *Super Albin Codanus, ingens sinus magnis parvisque insulis refertus est. In eo sunt Cimbri et Teutoni ultimi Germaniae Hermiones* (iii. 3). The accounts of the ancients respecting the seats of the Cimbri, or Cimmerii, abound in uncertainties and contradictions. Strabo places them on the ocean by the Elbe; Mela, in the islands of the Baltic; Pliny, to the east of the Elbe, and on the peninsula which took its name from them; Tacitus places them in the same quarter; Ptolemy, at the extremity of the Cimbric Chersonese. But, upon examination, it does not appear that they ever inhabited these parts. The Greeks first became acquainted with them on the northern coast of the Pontus Euxinus. They were driven from this quarter, and disappeared from the knowledge of the Greeks, who fabled that they dwelt on the shores of the Northern Ocean, in a land shrouded in perpetual night. Pytheas, who circumnavigated the greater part of the north-west of Europe, saw a large peninsula, where the long nights and intense cold in winter seemed to accord with the poetical descriptions of the land of the Cimmerians, and so assigned this country as their abode. In this he was followed by most of the ancient geographers: Strabo sets them down as one of the tribes with which they were best acquainted; although in the next sentence he acknowledges that all beyond the Elbe was totally

unknown to the Greeks (vii. p. 451. *Ed. Cas.* 294). No mention is made of the Cimbri in the expeditions of Drusus and Germanicus; and though the fleet of the latter discovered the Cimbric Chersonese of Pytheas, they found no Cimbrians dwelling in it, nor did it bear a name derived from that people. Ptolemy places them at the extremity of it, merely to fill up a gap, as he had no other tribe to fix in this locality. Their real country lay, probably, on the north-east side of Germany: it was on this side that they invaded Germany, and were opposed by the Boii, at that time the inhabitants of Bohemia. Βοΐους τὸν Ἑρκύνιον δρυμὸν οἰκεῖν. Τοὺς δὲ Κίμβρους ὁρμήσαντας ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον ἀποκρουσθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν Βοΐων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον, κ. τ. λ. (*Strabo*, vii. p. 293. edit. Casaub.) Together with the Teutones they entered Gaul, where they were joined by the Ambrones. With their combined forces they then invaded Spain; but were repulsed by the Celtiberi. The Teutones and Ambrones then made an irruption into Italy, where they were defeated by Marius (B. C. 102). A part of the Cimbri, who had gone into Helvetia, were there joined by the Tigurini; these made another attack upon Italy, and defeated Catulus; but were at last routed by Marius (B. C. 101). The remnant of them is said to have settled in Helvetia. Some of the Boii appear to have accompanied them in their invasion of Italy: they were led by a chief called *Boiorix*. Their name is still preserved in the national appellation of the Welsh, Cymry. It is very difficult to decide whether the Cimbri were a Germanic or a Celtic tribe. The two races were not carefully distinguished by the Romans: Tacitus called them Germans; but the Cymry certainly are not descendants of the Germans, — their language is a Celtic dialect: in the war with Marius they were led by a Celtic commander, and the description of their arms points to the same origin. Yet we find them united with the Teutones. There is a similar difficulty in the case of the Belgae. For an account of the the Cimbri and their expeditions, see *Liv. Ep.* 63—68. *Appian. de Rebus Celt. et Ill.*

Ripa is a very general term, and does not limit it to the banks of the Rhine. See *Caes. B. G.* ii. 29.

Molem refers more to the power, *manus*, to the numbers of the Cimbri.

Exitus.—"Migration." *Cic. Parad.* iv. 1. *Caes. B. Civ.* iii. 69.

Tamdiu Germania vincitur.—The present tense shows that Tacitus was engaged in writing this book at the time he speaks of (A. D. 98).

Non Hispaniae.—The *two* Spains. The Iberus formed the boundary between these two provinces. Wars were carried on here by the Romans against the Spanish allies of the Carthaginians, against Viriathus, the Numantini, Sertorius, and others.

Galliae.—Gallia Transalpina and Gallia Cisalpina.

Admonuere.—"Have reminded us" of our weakness.

Quippe regno Arsacis .. libertas.—"No doubt it is because the impatience of control which characterises the Germans, is more vigorous (is a greater stimulus to exertion) than the despotism of Arsaces." Compare *Annal.* ii. 44. 88. xiii. 50.

Caedem Crassi.—M. Licinius Crassus was defeated and slain by the Parthians B. C. 53. When Augustus was staying in Asia (B. C. 20), Phraates, fearing war might be declared against him, restored the captives and standards which had been taken in the defeats of Crassus and Antonius (*Dio*, xl. 16—30. liv. 8). Ventidius was the lieutenant of Antony; he had originally been a mule-driver, and had risen to the command of the Roman armies solely through the favour of Antony, whom he joined with three legions after the battle of Mutina. *Appian. B. C.* iv. 2. 31. v. 65. *Juv.* xi. 13.

At Germani Carbone.—Cn. Papirius Carbo was defeated at Noreia B. C. 113 (*Liv. Ep.* 63); L. Cassius Longinus (B. C. 107) was sent under the yoke and slain by the Tigurini (*Caes. B. G.* i. 7. 12, 13. 30. *Liv. Ep.* 65); M. Aurelius Scaurus, the same year, was taken and slain by Boiorix (*Liv. Ep.* 67. *Vell.* ii. 12); Q. Servilius Caepio and Cn. Manlius Maximus (B. C. 105) through their rashness and dissensions, suffered a severe defeat near Tolosa, after Caepio had plundered the Tolosans of the gold which had been formerly carried off by the Gauls from the temple at Delphi. *Liv. Ep.* 67. *Vell.* ii. 12.

Cnaeo quoque Manlio.—All the old MSS. and editions have *M. quoque Manlio.* Cn. and M. are frequently confounded in the MSS. It had been decreed after the death of M. Manlius Capitolinus, who was accused by the patrician party of aiming at royal power, that no one of this family should bear the name of *Marcus* (*Liv.* vi. 20. *Cic. Phil.* i. 13).

Caesari (i. e. Augusto) *abstulerunt.*—A. D. 9. See *Suet. Aug.* 23.

Divus Julius in Gallia.—For the campaigns of Julius Caesar against the Germans, see *Caes. B. G.* i. 32—58. ii. 1—33. iv. 1—19. vi. 9—28.

Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus.—The conjunction *ac* is changed;

because Drusus and Nero are more closely connected with one another than with Germanicus,—they were brothers. See Notes on *c.* 1.

Mox.—A. D. 39.

Caii Caesaris (Caligulae) *minae in ludibrium versae.*—"The mighty threats of Caligula terminated in ridicule." See *Hist.* iv. 15.

Inde otium.—During the reigns of Claudius and Nero. But compare *Annal.* xi. 18—20. xii. 27—30. *Suet. Claud.* 24.

Civilium armorum.—The wars carried on by Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian.

Expugnatis legionum hibernis.—A. D. 69, by the Batavi under Claudius Civilis (*Hist.* iv. 12—15. v. 20). The passage in *Agricola* (41), *tot militares viri,* &c. does not refer to this event; but to the wars carried on fifteen years before by Domitian against the Marcomanni and Daci.

Proximis temporibus.—Not only in the reign of Domitian, but also in those of Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian.

Triumphati magis quam victi.—See *Agr.* 39. *Pers.* vi. 43—50. *Suet. Cal.* 47. The cognomen of *Germanicus,* and the honour of a triumph, were frequently, out of flattery, conferred on the emperors, or their sons and favourites; sometimes, as the case of Caligula and Domitian, upon men who had never even seen the enemy.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—According to Tacitus, the Suevi possessed all the land from the banks of the Danube northwards to the Baltic Sea, between the Elbe and the Vistula. Through the midst of their territories stretched a chain of mountains, the name of which we do not learn from Tacitus (*c.* 43); but which, from his description, appears to be identical with the Asciburgian range of Ptolemy, and the modern *Riesen Gebirge.* Caesar makes their possessions extend to the Rhine, along the north bank of the Moenus. The reason of this was probably owing to the fact, that, on the north side of the Mayn, an army of Suevi had come to the aid of Ariovistus, which afterwards retired (*Caes. B. G.* i. 37. 54. iv. 1—3). The Catti were the tribe to which Caesar gave the name of Suevi. Strabo even speaks of Suevi on the Rhine, when all the tribes in that quarter had been already become known through the expeditions of the Romans (*Annal.* i. 44. ii. 26. 44. *Agr.* 28. *Ptol.* ii. 11). The different nations into which the Suevi were divided, are enumerated by Tacitus (*c.* 38—45). After the time of Tacitus, the name seems to have been nearly lost. It ap-

pears only once in the war with the Marcomanni, although it was carried on against tribes who once bore the name. After this it only occurs twice. Ptolemy gives it as a surname to the Langobardi; and in the fourth century, appeared a people bearing the name, who dwelt in the country called from them *Suabia.* The name probably occurs, though somewhat disguised, in that of the Viadrus, which seems originally to have begun with an *s:* the *mouth* still bears the name of *Swinemund.* Instances of the loss of the letter *s*, and the interchange of *v* and *d*, are seen in ἡδὺς, sweet, *suavis*, *suadeo* (originally to sweeten), *sop-or*, ὕπνος, *clavis*, *claudo*, &c. Ptolemy speaks of a river Suevus between the Oder and the Elbe; but there is no river there of a magnitude approaching to that which he assigns to the Suevus. Perhaps it was a name of the Oder, which he applied to another river. *Suiones* appears to be only a variation of the name *Suevi.*

Insigne gentis, &c,—"It is the peculiar custom of the Suevi not to leave the hair hanging down; but to comb it back over the head, and to fasten it up in a knot upon the crown. Among other tribes, this custom is rare, and practised only by the youth; but amongst the Suevi by the old men also, who comb back their bristly grey hair, and frequently bind it in a knot upon the bald crown itself." *Solus* is not unfrequently applied to solitary, barren, and desert places. Compare *Libyae solis in agris* (*Virg. Georg.* iii. 269). *Desertam in sola miseram se cernit arena* (*Catull.* lxiii. 57). This use of *solus*, however, is unsupported by examples. Many editors give conjectural alterations.

In ipso solo vertice may perhaps, however, mean, "Just on the crown," and nowhere else. Compare *Juv.* vi. 490—507.

Sic Suevorum ingenui a servis, separantur.—Among the Franks the commonalty and serfs had their hair cut short.

Ea cura formae.—"Such is their attention to their personal appearance."

In altitudinem quamdam et terrorem.—"To make themselves appear tall, and so strike terror into the enemy." Compare *Nam primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur* (*c.* 43).

CHAP. XXXIX.—*Vetustissimos . . memorant.*—Τὸ τῶν Σοήβων μέγα ἔθνος Σέμνωνες (*Strabo*, vii. p. 290). Τὸ τῶν Συήβων τῶν Σεμνόνων, οἵτινες διήκουσι μετὰ τὸν Ἄλβιν ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰρημένου μέρους πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, μέχρι τοῦ Συήβου ποταμοῦ (*Ptol.* ii. 11). They lived between the

Elbe and the Oder (see Notes on c. 38), inhabiting the tract which comprises what is now Mecklenburg and Brandenburg, with part of Saxony, Bohemia, Lusatia, Silesia, and Poland. They belonged to the kingdom of Maroboduus. The Romans first came in contact with them in the expeditions of Tiberius (*Vell.* ii. 106, 107); and the wars against Arminius, to whom, together with the Langabardi, they went over from Maroboduus (*Annal.* ii. 45, 46. *Vell.* ii. 106, 107); then in the time of Domitian, when a king of theirs, Masyus, whom they had driven out, came to Rome (*Dio*, lxvii. 5).

In silvam. — This is supposed to be the Sonnewald and Finsterwald, between the Elster and the Spree.

Auguriis .. sacram.—These words form an hexameter line. See *Annal.* i. 1.

Auguriis.—See c. 10.

Caesoque publice homine.—See c. 9. Some commentators suppose that Tacitus alludes to this in what he says in c. 9. *Pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat.*

Minor.—"Inferior;" ἥττων. See *Annal.* xv. 16. *Hor. Ep.* I. x. 35.

Evolvuntur.—"They roll themselves out."

Adjicit auctoritatem. — Understand, *Superstitioni illi.* *Adjicere* is also used absolutely, meaning "to increase."

Centum pagis habitant.—Caesar (*B. G.* i. 37. iv. 1) says the same of the Suevi. Both writers probably only drew their information from some vague traditions. Mannert contends that *Semnones* was not the name of any particular tribe; but a common one, like that of *Suevi*, and applied to the northern branches of the latter people. The name does not occur in history after the reign of Antoninus Philos.

Magnoque corpore (sc. *civitatis*).—So *Hist.* iv. 64. *Liv.* xxvi. 16. xxxiv. 8.

CHAP. XL.—*Langobardos.*—The Langobardi frequently changed their settlements. At first they dwelt in the neighbourhood of the lower Elbe, in the tract called *Bardengau*, between Magdeburg, Lüneburg, and Hamburg, where the town of Bardwick stands, and in which they were subdued by Tiberius (*Ptol.* ii. 11. *Vell.* ii. 106), who moved them beyond the Elbe. They then advanced more into the interior of the country, to the neighbourhood of the Semnones; and, together with these, revolted from Maroboduus, under whose dominion they then were, to Arminius (*Annal.* ii. 45 46. xi. 17), and assisted

Italicus, the banished king of the Cherusci (*Annal.* xi. 16, 17). But in the Marcomannic war, having crossed the Danube, they were defeated by Vindex and Candidus. Afterwards, on the decline of the power of the Cherusci, they extended themselves to the Rhine; and here they are placed by Ptolemy, between the Bructeri and Tencteri. They did not, however, remain here long; the Saxon league drove them back to the Elbe. In the fifth century they took possession of part of Hungary, on the northern bank of the Danube, and in the sixth century, under the guidance of Audoinus they crossed this river, and established themselves in Pannonia. Then, at the invitation of Narses, and led by Alboinus across the Alps (A. D. 568), they settled in Lombardy, which Charlemagne subdued (A. D. 774), having taken Desiderius, the last king. Tacitus has here omitted the Burgundiones, as in his time they were unknown to the Romans. They afterwards, with the Langobardi, settled upon the *Decumates agri.* Thence they made an irruption into Gaul, and seized upon the lands which still bear their name.

Paucitas nobilitat.—Because, though few in number, they maintained their ground against the tribes by whom they were surrounded (the Cherusci, Marcomanni, Semnones, Hermunduri, Cauci, and Marsi), not through the obsequious submission of the subject tribes, but by battles and by daring. *Non per obsequium* might also mean "not by obsequious submission to their neighbours."

Reudigni .. Aviones.—The position of these people is uncertain. They probably lived near Lauenberg.

The *Angli* are not mentioned in the expeditions of Drusus and Tiberius, and therefore probably were at that time on the east of the Elbe. Ptolemy places them on the west, in what is now Magdeburg. Their name does not appear separately in history till they joined the Saxons in the conquest of Britain. Part of them remained behind in Denmark, where a tract of land in Schleswig still bears the name of Angeln.

Varini.—The Varini are placed by Ptolemy along the sea from the mouth of the Trave to the Warne, which doubtless took its name from them. They were afterwards driven inland by Slavonian tribes, and united themselves with the Saxons. We find some tribes of the Varini in Thuringia, others on the banks of the Elbe, and others in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, where they were subdued by the

Franks. They also appear on the south of the Danube, for they served as auxiliaries under Narses in Italy. Ptolemy calls them Φαρόδεινοί.

Eudoses.—The *Eudoses* are by some placed in Holstein where Eutinum, the river Eydora (Eyder), and Euding took their names from them: others on the banks of the river Dosse.

Suardones.—The *Suardones* seem to have lived near Lübeck, by the river *Schwartau.*

Nuithones.—The *Nuithones* seem to have dwelt somewhere in Holstein.

Herthum.—*Herthus* is manifestly the same word as the German *Erde* and the English *Earth.*

Inveki populis.—"Visits the different nations." *Inveho* is sometimes constructed with the dative case. See *Annal.* ii. 23.

In insula oceani.—There are various opinions respecting the situation of this island. It is identified by different writers with Rugen, Fosettesland, Mona, Heligoland, Fehmern, Bornholm, Poel, &c.; but Rugen is most probably the island meant. The wood spoken of seems to be that of Stubnitz, and the lake the Burgsee. In this forest is a lofty rock, to this day called Hertha's rock, with a lake at the bottom of it, in shape nearly circular, of immense depth, and surrounded by very thick woods. Among the northern nations islands were almost invariably selected for the performance of their religious rites; as was the case with Anglesea, the Isle of Man, Holy Island, Iona, &c.

Castum.—"Unpolluted." So, *Luci parum casti* (*Hor. Od.* I. xii. 60), and *Casta penetralia.* Nearly all the circumstances mentioned here concerning the worship of Herthus, agree with those practised at the worship of the deity of the earth (called Ceres, Rhea, Ops, Demeter, Cybele, or Isis), in Thrace and Phrygia, by the Cabiri, Corybantes, and Idaean Dactyls. At Pessinus festive days were kept, in which the image of the goddess was drawn in a car by cows, through the towns of Phrygia (*Virg. Aen.* vi. 785). At every place she passed through sacrifices were offered; and at last the car of the deity was purified in the water of Almon. Similar customs are observed by the Brahmans in India, at the festival of Baghawadi.

Dicatum.—*Dicare* is properly "to bind," and thence means "to dedicate," "to consecrate," and is the same in origin as *ligare, ligatus* (Eng. *tight*). *Abdico me magistratu* is "I unbind myself from the duties of magistrate." *Dico me in servitutem* "I bind myself as a slave."

Non bella ineuut.—A festival, called *Alla manna frith* (i. e. *Allmann's friede*), in which they abstained from war, continued to be celebrated in Gothland, even after the introduction of Christianity.

Pax et quies.—*Pax* refers to foreign wars; *quies*, to internal dissensions.

Deam templo reddat.—*Templum* does not imply any building; it merely means a space marked out (*Gr.* τέμενος: from the root τεμ (*cut*), in τέμνω); it was applied to the portion of the heavens which the augur marked out by his wand when taking the auspices.

Idem lacus haurit.—"Swallows up."

Sanctaque ignorantia.—"A holy ignorance of what that can be, which is only seen by those persons who are doomed to perish."

CHAP. XLI.—*Hermundurorum civitas.*—The Hermunduri occupied what is now Saxony and Anhalt, between the Sala (Francorum) and the Albis. *Flumen Albis, qui Semnonum Hermundurorumque fines praeterfluit* (*Vell.* ii. 106). Towards the west they bordered on the Cherusci and the Thüringer Wald, and the Sala (*Annal.* xiii. 57) divided them from the Catti (see Notes on *c.* 30). From *Annal.* xii. 30 we gather, that on the east they dwelt near the Quadi, whose territories lay in Moravia and Upper Hungary, with whom, in conjunction with the Lygii, whose possessions were situated in the western part of the Carpathian Mountains, they waged war. Accordingly, the Hermunduri would live about the sources of the Elbe, in the north of Bohemia. Their name is not mentioned by Ptolemy; and as we have not the least hint in history that they were annihilated in war, it is probable that the *Tauriochaemae*, whom he places in their country, were the same people under another name. In the fifth century they appear in the same district, under the name of *Thuringi.* In the name *Hermunduri*, *Hermun* is probably not an essential part, but merely marks that they belong to the Hermiones. *Duri* seems to be their real name; and this root appears, with a German ending in *Thur-ingi.* A division of the Hermunduri dwelt on the banks of the Danube, in the eastern part of Franconia. From a fragment of Dion Cassius, we learn that Domitius Ahenobarbus (A. D. 2) assigned them this abode, when wandering in search of new settlements. The Turoni, on the northern side of the Mayn, mentioned by Ptolemy, are probably a branch of the same people. The towns mentioned by Ptolemy as belonging to them are, Λοκόριτον (Lohr), Σεγόδουνον (Wurceburg), Δηούονα-

(Schweinfurth, or Detwang), Βέργιον (Bamberg, or Berching), Μενόσγαδα (Baruth), Καντίουβις (Windsheme), Βίβακον (Suabach).

Fida Romanis.—Until A. D. 152, when a general conspiracy against the Romans was entered into by the Marcomanni, Narisci, Hermunduri, Quadi, Suevi, Sarmatae, Vandali, Latringes, and Buri.

Penitus.—In the interior.

Splendidissima .. colonia.—This is generally supposed to be Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg).

Non concupiscentibus.—"Without exciting their avarice."

In Hermunduris Albis (Elbe) *oritur.*—The Vandals afterwards inhabited this part; whence Dio says (lv. 1), Ὁ Ἄλβις ῥεῖ ἐκ τῶν Οὐανδαλικῶν ὀρῶν.

Notum olim.—Through the expeditions of Drusus, Domitius, and Tiberius.

CHAP. XLII.—*Narisci.*—Called Varisti by Ptolemy, and Nariscae by Dio. They dwelt at the foot of the Fichtelgebirge (*Ptol.* ii. 11).

Marcomanni.—We first hear of this people in the army of Ariovistus, when he was at war with Caesar and the Helvetians (*Caes. B. G.* i. 51) on the Rhine; then between the Mayn and the Neckar. After Caesar's death they dwelt between the Danube and the Drave, in Austria and Hungary, till the Romans conquered Pannonia and the Noric Alps, when they withdrew to the opposite side of the river, into the country formerly occupied by the Boii, whom they expelled. This they did under the guidance of Maroboduus, who, in his youth, had come to Rome and been educated at the court of Augustus. He raised his people to a high pitch of prosperity, and formed a league including a great number of the Suevic tribes, of which the Langobardi and Semnones were the most northerly. His power had become formidable to Rome, and Tiberius prepared to invade his dominions. But a sudden insurrection of the Pannonian and Dalmatian tribes compelled Tiberius to conclude a treaty with him (*Vell.* ii. 108—110. *Annal.* ii. 16). The Langobardi and Semnones having withdrawn from Maroboduus, and attached themselves to Arminius, the chief of the Cherusci, a war ensued between them. Inguiomerus, the uncle of Arminius, came over to Maroboduus, who was defeated, and compelled to retire amongst the Marcomanni, and apply to Rome for assistance (*Annal.* ii. 44—46). It appears that a peace was then concluded between them. Maroboduus was soon after expelled by Catualda, and

forced to take refuge in Italy: he lived there, at Ravenna, for eighteen years. Catualda was driven out by the Hermunduri, and also fled to Tiberius for protection. The followers of these two princes were settled beyond the Danube, between the Morava and Gran, and Vannius, from the tribe of the Quadi, was appointed as their king (*Annal.* ii. 62, 63. xii. 29, 30. *Hist.* iii. 5). Peace was maintained between the Romans and the tribes along the Danube till the reign of Domitian, when hostilities broke out, and continued almost uninterruptedly till the destruction of the Roman empire (*Dio*, lxvii. 7. *Plin. Pan.* viii. 12). For an account of the great Marcomannic war, in the reign of M. Aurelius, see *Dio*, lxviii. 9. lxxi. 3. 8—15. 20—33. lxxii. 2. After the death of Attila, in whose army they served, they are not any more heard of. Ptolemy mentions as their cities, Μαρόβουδον (Budweis), Οὔσβιον (either Marbach or Ispern), Ἀβίλουνον (Zlabings), Ῥεδιντούϊον (Prague), Νομιστήριον (either Niemes or Nimptsch), Κολάγκορον (either Zittavia or Collochau).

Quadi.—The Romans first became acquainted with the Quadi after the conquest of Pannonia. They always appear in the closest connection with the Marcomanni. Their most ancient settlements on the Danube reached eastward to the Teis, where they bordered on the Getae; but partly in consequence of the irruption of the Jazyges, partly through the influence of Maroboduus, they withdrew westwards. The name Quadi was given to the mixed tribe composed of the followers of Maroboduus and Catualda, settled by the Romans between the Marus and the Cusus. Towards the north they reached to the Carpathian Mountains, beyond which dwelt the Lygii. Their western limits cannot be determined with accuracy. The original tribe of the Quadi seems to have extended westwards beyond the Morava, and to have united with their brethren on the east. They carried on wars with M. Aurelius, Commodus, Caracalla, Gallienus, Aurelian, Constantius, Julian, and Valentinian I, till the fifth century, when they appear to have coalesced with other nations (*Dio*, lxxi. 8—13. 20. lxxii. 2. lxxvii. 20). Their cities mentioned by Ptolemy are, Φρουργισατὶς, Κοριδοργὶς, Μεδοσλάνιον, Ῥοβόδουνον, Φιληκία, Μελιόδουνον, the sites of which cannot be determined with any accuracy, Ἀνδουίτιον (Dioszeg), Κελμαντία (Szomolyan), Ἄναβον (Abany), Σιγγονὴ (Trentsin), Ἔβουρον (Berun), Ἀρσίκουα (Felsi), Παρίεννα (Varin), Σετουΐα (Sydzina).

Tuder, or *Tudrus*, is not mentioned elsewhere, nor are other kings

of the Marcomanni and Quadi spoken of, except by writers of a later age; as Attalus (*Aurel. Vict.*) and Queen Fritigil (*Paulinus*) amongst the Marcomanni: and Phurtius, Ariogaesus (*Dio*, lxxi. 13), Caiobamarus (*Dio*, lxxvii. 20), Araharius, Viduarius, Agilimundus, and Gabinius (*Ammianus*).

Externos reges.—As Catualda, Vannius, Vangio, Sido (*Annal.* ii. 62, 63. xii. 29, 30).

Sed vis .. Romana.—Partly on account of the support afforded them by the Romans against the different factions of their kingdoms; partly because some of them owed their royalty to the Romans.

Saepius pecunia.—In point of fact, the Romans were sometimes compelled to pay tribute to these princes, as to Decebalus, the king of the Daci, and his allies, the Marcomanni and Quadi (*Dio*, lxvii. 7. lxviii. 9). Compare *c.* 15, &c.

Chap. XLIII.—*Marsigni, Gothini, Osi, Buri.*—These tribes lived near the Oder and Vistula, in the mountains of Silesia and Bohemia. The Marsigni seem to have lived about Warsaw; the Gothini, in Cracow, or on the banks of the Marus (March), as it is said that the Quadi imposed a tribute upon them; and Ptolemy (ii. 11) mentions towns here having a Celtic name and origin, adding ὑφ' οὓς (τοὺς Κουάδους) τὰ σιδηρωρυχεῖα (either where are the modern Feldsburg, Eisgrub, and Niclasburg, not far from Cracow, on the western bank of the Vistula, or at Iglawa, Oslawa, Schwarza, Zwittawa, between Bohemia and Moravia), καὶ ἡ Λοῦνα ὕλη (Manhart). Others place the Gothini and Buri on the south of the Danube, where there are several iron mines in Styria.

The *Osi* were a tribe of the Boioarii, from whom, according to some, *Housi*, or *Ousgow*, took its name; according to others, they dwelt in the mountain region between the sources of the Viadrus and those of the Granua, or between the Vistula and Mount Tatra, in Galicia and Cracow, where their name is preserved in *Oswieczim* (Auschwitz), *Osyek* and *Osjeletz.* The Buri lived near the sources of the Viadrus and Vistula, extending as far as Briga and Cracow, or near to Troppau, in Silesia. In conjunction, first with the Daci, and afterwards with the Marcomanni, they waged war with Trajan, Commodus, and M. Aurelius. *Dio*, lxviii. 8. lxxi. 18, lxxii. 2, 3.

Suevos referunt.—So, *Robora parentum liberi referunt* (*c.* 20).

Sarmatae.—By the Sarmatae here are probably meant the Jazyges

Metanastae, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Quadi, or else the Sidones.

Gothini .. effodiunt.—The Greeks and Romans generally employed slaves to work in the mines.

Quo magis pudeat.—Because the iron mines in their country ought to furnish them with arms with which to assert their freedom.

Jugum—alone, without *montis*, is seldom used as it is by Caesar (*B. G.* vi. 40. vii. 67).

Continuum montium jugum.—See Notes on *c.* 28.

Lygiorum nomen.—The Lygii extended from the sources of the Vistula to about the middle of its course. To the south they bordered on the Carpathian Mountains, to the west on the Riesengebirge, and to the north on the Burgundii; including the southern part of Silesia, the western part of Galicia, and some parts of Poland west of the Vistula. Some of them joined the Marcomanni and Hermunduri against the Quadi; others, during the reign of Probus, under the guidance of their king, Semno, with the Burgundii and Vandals, advanced as far as the Rhine against the Romans. After this period their name disappears (*Annal.* xii. 29, 30. *Dio*, lxvii. 5). Some identify them with the Ligues, or Ligurians, in Gaul; and suppose that, having been conuqered by the Gauls, they migrated first into Italy, and then into Germany.

Arios .. Naharvalos.—The positions of these subdivisions mentioned by Tacitus are not determined with accuracy. The Arii are supposed to have lived by the Sudetan Mountains, in the neighbourhood of Arnsdorf and Arnsberg; the Helvecones, between Ukermark and Priegnitz; the Manimi, at the mouth of the Neisse; the Elysii, at Oels in Silesia; the Naharvali, between the Warta and the Vistula, near Petricau. The name of the Arii appears to contain the same root which we find in the names of many nations of the Indo-Germanic family; and it is not improbable that all the different branches of the Indo-Germanic race may have originally been called by this name. According to Herodotus (vii. 61, 62), the Medes were originally called *Arii*, and the Persians *Artaei*. These names are identical with the Sanskrit word *Arya* (which means "honourable," "entitled to respect"), by which, in the ancient writings of the Hindus, the followers of the Brahmanical law are designated (See Rosen in "Quarterly Journal of Education," vol. ix. p. 336). India proper is called in the most ancient Sanskrit works *Arya-varta* ("holy-land"). The same name was

retained in the provinces of *Aria* and *Ariana* (called in the Zend language *Airyáne*), whence the modern Persian name *Iran* is derived.

Nomen Alcis.—*Alcis* dat. plur.

Venerantur—Is transitive: the passive was not in use except in the participle.

Enumeratos paulo ante populos.—The Marsigni, Gothini, and Osi.

Lenocinantur.—"Increase the effect of." Originally "pander to."

Arte . . nigra scuta, tincta corpora—*Arte* refers to their black shields and stained bodies; *tempore* to the murky nights chosen for their engagements. *Atras ad proelia noctes legunt.*

Tincta corpora.—This practice, which was unusual amongst the Germans, was probably borrowed from the Sarmatian tribes (See *Herod.* v. 6). *Illinunt aliis aliae faciem in populis barbarorum feminae, maresque etiam apud Dacos et Sarmatas corpora sua inscribunt* (*Plin.* xxii. 1). Compare *Caes. B. G.* v. 14. *Agr.* 10.

Gotones.—The name *Gotones* is synonymous with that of Γύθωνες (*Ptol.*) or Goths. They were frequently erroneously confounded with the Getae and Scythians. Pytheas is the first who mentions them, when they lived on the right bank of the Vistula, and on the coast of the Baltic, on the borders of Silesia and Poland, and afterwards a part of them in Scandinavia, where their name appears in *Gothland*, *Gothenburg*, *Codanus Sinus*, and *Gedanum*. Pliny and Tacitus do not make them reach to the sea. A portion of them were members of the Marcomannic league (*Annal.* ii. 62). They first appear under the name of Goths in the time of Caracalla. Somewhere about the middle of the second century, they seem to have wandered from the Vistula to the neighbourhood of the Dnieper and Dniester, and incessantly harassed the province of Dacia. Under Gallienus they devastated Thrace and Macedonia; and a portion of them penetrated into Asia Minor, and burnt the temple of Diana at Ephesus. About this period they spread eastward along the northern coast of the Euxine. In the year 269, they were defeated by Claudius in Maesia. Shortly afterwards Aurelian abandoned Dacia to them; and they were now divided into *Ostro-Goths*, or East-Goths, inhabiting the shores of the Euxine, and *Visi-Goths*, or West-Goths, who occupied Dacia. The Borysthenes formed the boundary of the two divisions. About the year 375, the Huns, under Attila, drove the Ostrogoths upon their western neighbours, who retired before them, and were allowed by the emperor Valens to settle in Maesia. Here disputes arose between

them and the Romans, and Valens was killed in attempting to oppose them. In the reign of Honorius, Alaric, at the head of the Visigoths, invaded Italy, but was defeated by Stilicho. He soon returned, however, and made himself master of Rome. His successor, Ataulph, made peace with the Romans, and withdrew to the south of Gaul, from which the Visigoths afterwards crossed to Spain, where they maintained their ground till they were conquered by the Moors. After the death of Attila, the Ostrogoths emancipated themselves from the dominion of the Huns; and under Theodoric defeated Odoacer and subdued Italy (A.D. 489). But their dominion here was overthrown by Narses, the general of Justinian in 554, and the remnant of their race became amalgamated with the other inhabitants of Italy.

Adductius—This is a metaphor from drawing in the reins of a horse.

Rugii et Lemovii.—The Rugii lived between the Oder and Vistula. The island of Rugen probably took its name from them. After the death of Attila, they took possession of part of Austria, Moravia, and Upper Hungary, but in 480 were either destroyed or dispersed by Odoacer. The Lemovii seem to have dwelt near the town and river Leba. They are not mentioned elsewhere.

CHAP. XLIV.—*Suiones.*—They inhabited the south of Sweden, which was supposed by the ancients to be an island.

Ipso in oceano.—The Baltic.

Forma navium .. agit.— Resembling the canoes still used by the Swedes and Canadians. Compare *Annal.* ii. 6. *Caes. B. G.* iii. 13.

Paratam .. adpulsui.—" Ready for driving on to the beach."

Ministrantur.—" Are worked."

In quibusdam fluminum.—So, *Praecipua rerum* (*Annal.* iv. 41).

Nullis jam exceptionibus.—*Jam* implies that as we go farther and farther northwards the people degenerate more and more from the spirit of liberty which characterized the more southern tribes, till at last we come to a people with an absolute ruler.

Precario jure parendi.—[In the text *Aprendi* is a misprint instead of *Parendi.*] *Precarium jus* is a right granted to a person's entreaties. See *Hist.* i. 52. *Liv.* iii. 47. Some editors take *parendi* in a passive sense, and adduce as parallel instances, *censendi causa* (*Cic. Verr.* i. 18). *Celandi* (*Tibull.* i. 9. 23). But this does not appear to be necessary. It may be translated *with an absolute claim upon their obedience.*

Otiosae .. lasciviunt.—Some editors give *otiosa;* but the construction of a singular noun of multitude with a plural verb, is only allowable when some clause intervenes and separates them. Such a phrase as *turba ruunt* would be inadmissible.

Quia .. lasciviunt—This is the reason why arms are not allowed to the public without distinction; *enimvero .. utilitas est,* the reason why the charge of them is entrusted to a slave.

Facile lasciviunt.—As in the case of the Praetorian soldiers and the Janissaries. Compare, *Assuetus expeditionibus miles otio lascivit* (*Agr.* 16).

Regia utilitas est.—" Is the policy of a king."

CHAP. XLV.—*Mare .. pigrum ac prope inmotum.*—" Sluggish and almost without any motion," on account of the ice. Compare *Agr.* 10. *Mare concretum* (*Plin.* xxxvii. 2). *Oceanus glacialis* (*Juv.* ii. 1).

Quod extremus .. hebetet.—" The last brightness of the setting sun continues so vivid till its rising, as to obscure the stars." Compare *Agr.* 12. *Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram, et nox clara, et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. Quod si nubes non officiant, adspici per noctem solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere, sed transire affirmant. Scilicet extrema et plana terrarum humili umbra non erigunt tenebras, infraque caelum et sidera nox cadit.* In the age of Pliny and Tacitus, the globular form of the earth was well known. Pliny (ii. 64) says:—*Orbem certe dicimus terrae, globumque verticibus includi fatemur. Neque enim absoluti orbis est forma, in tanta montium celsitate, tanta camporum planitie, sed cujus amplexus, si capita linearum comprehendantur ambitu, figuram absoluti orbis efficiat.* And Tacitus considered the earth, though not completely spherical, as a globe at rest in the centre of the universe; with the land completely surrounded by water; as Pliny (ii. 66) says:—*Est igitur in toto globo tellus medio ambitu praecincta circumfluo mari.* See also *Plin.* ii. 70. 75. The part of the earth from Britain to the pole, Tacitus conceived to be flatter than that from Italy to Britain, since there was no chain of mountains at all to be compared to the Alps: hence he talks of the *extrema et plana terrarum.* And as night is nothing else than the shadow of the earth (*Plin.* ii. 10), rising in the form of a cone, since the body illumined is less than the body that illumines it, the notion entertained by Tacitus is, that at the time of the solstice, when the sun

approaches nearer to the pole (*Plin.* ii. 75), and accordingly does not sink far below the horizon, the shadow of the flatter parts of the earth towards the pole cannot shroud the whole heavens in darkness (*extrema et plana terrarum non erigunt tenebras*); but the surface of the earth only is darkened while the sky and stars appear above the shadow, and are illumined by the rays of the sun (*infra caelum et sidera nox cadit*).

Edurat.—"Lasts out."

Sonum .. adjicit.—The sound here referred to is not that of the sun hissing as he sinks into the ocean, which, however, was the vulgar belief (see *Strabo*, iii. 1. p. 138. *Juv.* xiv. 280), but that produced by the Aurora Borealis; and the *formas deorum et radios capitis* refer likewise to the fanciful shapes assumed by these electrical phaenomena. To this source, perhaps, may be traced the lays of the northern tribes and of Ossian respecting the Walkyrs, "The ghosts light as the blast of Cromla, the riders of the storm and fiery horses, sitting on low-hung clouds, and moving like the shadow of mist."

Illuc usque et fama vera tantum natura.—*Tantum* must be joined with *illuc usque.* So with regard to the Indian Ocean, Curtius (ix. 9) says, *Ne naturam quidem longius posse procedere.*

Ergo.—"To return, therefore."

Suevici maris.—The Baltic.

Aestyorum gentes.—Their name still remains in that of the *Esthen.* They inhabited Prussia, Livonia, and Curland. Some think that their name merely means "the people of the east."

Lingua Britannicae propior.—Compare *Agr.* 11, where a Germanic origin, whether correctly or not is uncertain, is attributed to the Caledonians.

Matrem deum.—The *Isis* or *Herthus* of the Suevi, the *Frigga* of the Scandinavians, and the *Foseta* of the Cimbri.

Formas aprorum gestant.—The boar, as the symbol of fecundity, was sacred to this deity. Amulets of the same kind, with which the Wends used to ornament the images of their deities, have been dug in the neighbourhood of the Prilwitch, a town of Mecklenburg. Many remnants of this superstition still remain in Sweden. At the time of the festival anciently celebrated in honour of Frea, the rustics make bread into the form of a hog, which is applied to various superstitious uses.

Patientius .. inertia.—"They cultivate corn and other fruits of the

earth with more industry than might have been expected from the usual indolence of the Germans." See *c.* 14, 15.

Succinum.—"Amber." So called, because it was believed to be the sap of a tree; from *succus.*

Glesum vocant.—*i. e.* "Glass," from its brightness (*gleissen*, to shine); like ἤλεκτρον, in Greek, from which the *Glessariae insulae* (*Electrides*, Gr.) received their name. *Plin.* iv. 27. 30. *Herod.* iii. 115. *Diod.* v. 23.

Inter vada, atque in ipso litore.—On the shores of Pomerania, Curonia, and Prussia; now principally on the coast of Samland, from Pillau to the Curische Nehrung. It first became known in the south of Europe through the Phoenicians.

Nec .. ut barbaris .. compertum.—"Nor have they inquired into or found out, as is usual among barbarians, &c. Compare *Agr.* 11.

Donec .. nomen.—*Conchylia et purpuras omnis hora atterit, quibus eadem mater luxuria paria paene etiam margaritis pretia fecit* (*Plin.* ix. 35). See *Juv.* v. 38. vi. 573. *Mart.* iii. 65.

Perfertur.—By traders through Pannonia to the Adriatic sea, and thence to Rome.

Succum .. intelligas.—*Nascitur defluente medulla pinei generis arboribus, ut gummi in cerasis, resina pineis. Erumpit humoris abundantia, densatur rigore vel tempore auctumnali. Quum intumescens aestus rapuit ex insulis, certe in litora expellitur, ita volubile, ut pendere videatur atque considere in vado; quod arboris succum esse prisci nostri credidere, ob id succinum appellantes. Pineae autem arboris esse, indicio est pineus in attritu odor et quod accensum taedae modo ac nidore flagret. Liquidum primo destillare, argumento sunt quaedam intus translucentia, ut formicae aut culices lacertaeque, quas adhaesisse musteo non est dubium et inclusas indurescenti* (*Plin.* xxxvii. 2, 3). It has been shown that this notion, though a common one, is incorrect, and that amber is bituminous in its nature, and is produced underground.

Ubi tura.—In Arabia; *balsamaque*, in Judea and Arabia. *Virg. Georg.* ii. 118.

Quae expressa.—Scil. *nemora lucique*, "which, squeezed out and rendered liquid by the rays of the sun close to them, flow into the neighbouring sea, and are washed upon the opposite shores by the force of tempests."

Sitonum gentes.—The *Sitones* lived to the north of the Suiones, perhaps in Queenland. Others place them to the south of the lake Malar, where *Sigtun* or *Situn* was formerly situated.

In tantum.—"To such an extent." So, *In quantum modum* (*Annal.* xv. 25). *Quantum* (*Annal.* vi. 21). *In quantum* (*Juven.* xiv. 318).

CHAP. XLVI.—*Peucinorum.*—The Peucini, or Bastarnae, occupied the country from the sources of the Vistula to the Carpathian mountains, which, from them, were called the *Bastarnic Alps*, and dwelt on the left bank of the Danube up to its mouth, in Transilvania, Galicia, Hungary, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bessarabia. They are classed among the Sarmatians by Ptolemy and Dio, amongst the Germans by Pliny and Strabo, who says that a part of them were called *Peucini*, on account of their living in the island of Peuce, off the mouth of the Danube (vii. 2. 17). Others derive the name from Mount Peuce, situated above Dacia, near which, according to Ptolemy, they dwelt. Livy (xl. 47. xliv. 26), Diodorus, and Polybius (xxvi. 9), who had not learnt the distinction between the Celts and Germans, class them amongst the former. They first appear in history B. C. 179, serving under Perseus ; then as allies of Mithridates ; afterwards as members of the Marcomannic league, and in connection with the Goths, with whom they seem to have coalesced, unless, as some have supposed, they were the originators of the Frank league. Probus is reported to have settled one hundred thousand of them in Thrace. Plutarch (*Aem. Paull.* 12) says :—"Βαστάρναι ἄνδρες οὐ γεωργεῖν εἰδότες, οὐ πλεῖν, οὐκ ἀπὸ ποιμνίων ζῆν νέμοντες, ἀλλ' ἓν ἔργον καὶ μίαν τέχνην μελετῶντες ἀεὶ μάχεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἀντιταττομένων. Ἄνδρες ὑψηλοὶ μὲν τὰ σώματα, θαυμαστοὶ δὲ τὰς μελέτας, μεγάλαυχοι δὲ καὶ λαμπροὶ ταῖς κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπειλαῖς, θάρσος παρέστησαν τοῖς Μακεδόσι καὶ δόξαν, ὡς τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐχ ὑπομενούντων, ἀλλ' ἐκπλαγησομένων τὴν ὄψιν αὐτὴν καί τὴν κίνησιν, ἔκφυλον οὖσαν καὶ δυσπρόσοπτον."

Procerum . . foedantur.—"Through the intermarriages of their chiefs with the Sarmatians, they are gradually assuming the disgusting character of that people."

Venedi multum ex moribus (*sc.* Sarmatarum) *traxerunt.*—The Venedi lived on the eastern bank of the Vistula, round what is now the Gulf of Dantzic, and on the mountains called from them τὰ Οὐινιδικὰ ὄρη, which separated them from the Gothones, in Poland, Lithuania, and the eastern part of Prussia. They were afterwards called Winidi, or Wendi. They belonged to the Slavonians, who, after the fifth century, spread over the east of Germany up to and beyond the Elbe, and whose pos-

terity are still found in Livonia, Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, Lusatia, Pomerania, Stiria, &c. A dialect of the Slavonic is still called the Wend language. Many suppose that the Veneti in Italy are a branch of the same people, who migrated southwards, and that Vindelicia also took its name from them.

Hi tamen .. referuntur.—Ptolemy and others more correctly make them a branch of the Sarmatians.

Domos fingunt.—So, *Luteum fingere opus* (*Ovid, Fast.* i. 158). *Fingere nidos* (*Cic. De Or.* ii. 6). There is also another reading, *Figunt.*

Quae omnia .. viventibus.—" All which customs differ from those of the Sarmatae, who pass their time in waggons and on horseback."

Fennis.—The Fenni are the inhabitants of Finland.

Suas alienasque .. versare.—To be harassed by the alternate hopes and fears of enriching or ruining themselves and others in trade and traffic.

Securi—Does not mean "safe," but "without care and anxiety." *Castrensis jurisdictio secura et obtusior*, &c. (*Agr.* 9.) *Quis sub Arcto Rex gelidae metuatur orae, Quid Tiridaten terreat, unice Securus* (*Hor. Od.* I. xxvi. 3). *Nunquam apud vos verba feci, aut pro vobis sollicitior aut pro me securior* (*Hist.* iv. 58).

Oxionas.—Tacitus occasionally uses this Greek ending, as in *Helveconas* (c. 43); *Suionas* (c. 45); *Vangionas ac Nemetas* (*Annal*, xii. 27).

Ora hominum .. gerere.—This fable may possibly have arisen from their wearing the skins of wild beasts.

NOTES ON THE AGRICOLA.

CHAP. I.—The composition of this work may be fixed from internal and external evidence to the year of Rome 850-1, four years after Agricola's death. The first three chapters comprise the preface, the substance of which is this:—In times of yore, when there was no reason, as now, to dread men's ignorance of virtue, and their envy of her votaries, it was usual to hand down to posterity the exploits and characters of famous men; and a man was not found fault with even if he narrated his own life. But in times like these, when we have only lately seen that to praise illustrious men was a capital crime, I must plead for favour and indulgence, which I should not have done, had not my path lain through times inimical to virtue, in which even those remain unpunished through whose charges Agricola fell, and through whose means many have been calumniated. At length, however, spirit and liberty are returning, though the desire of writing springs up but gradually and slowly, since talents and zeal may be more quickly smothered and suppressed than roused again to vigour and activity; and sloth, at first the object of our hatred, ends with ingratiating itself into our favour. Hence I am led to hope that I shall meet with excuse for having formed the design of writing this memoir.

Clarorum virorum.—*Clarus* is properly applied to those distinguished not by birth but by personal merit, as warriors or statesmen; *clari gloria*, and *graves auctoritate*, as Cicero says (*De Or.* ii. 37).

Quamquam incuriosa suorum aetas.—So, Φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδὼν ἀνανταγωνίστῳ εὐνοίᾳ τετίμηται (*Thuc.* ii. 45). *Vitio malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude, praesentia in fastidio* (*Dial. de Orat.* 18).

Omisit.—This is not to be taken as the present perfect, or the aorist of narration, but as a present indefinite, expressing what is customary. The corresponding use of the aorist in Greek is exceedingly common. It is frequently thus employed in similes (*Hom. Od.* χ. 299. *Soph. Elect.* 25); and there are many instances of it in Latin. Cicero (*De Div.* i. 8), translating from Aratus, says:—*Fuscaque non num-*

quam cursans per littora cornix, Demersit caput, et fluctum cervice recepit. See also *Hor. Od.* III. xxiii. 19 ; xxix. 13. *Ep.* I. ii. 48. *Virg. Aen.* ii. 12. *Ceteri eorum more, quae fluminibus innatant, non eunt, sed feruntur. Ex quibus alia lenior unda detinuit, ac mollius vexit ; alia vehementer rapuit ; alia proxime ripam, cursu languescente deposuit* (*Sen. Ep.* 23). A somewhat different use of this tense, though still analogous to that of the Greek aorist, occurs in such phrases as *ut ita dixerim.* In using *opus fuit* (*c.* 2), Tacitus probably followed the practice observed in epistolary writing.

Ignorantiam recti.—*Rectum* (ὀρθὸν, ὀρθότης in the Platonic sense) *constans ex virtute et officio, dividitur in prudentiam, justitiam, fortitudinem, modestiam* (*Auct. ad Herenn.* iii. 2).

Pronum — Means, properly, " down hill ;" hence, " easy."

Celeberrimus quisque ingenio, &c.—Beside Arulenus Rusticus, and Senecio (*c.* 2), Pliny the elder is named as the biographer of Pomponius Secundus ; Claudius Pollio wrote a life of Musonius Bassus (*Plin. Ep.* vii. 31) ; and Julius Secundus, a life of Julius Asiaticus (*Dial. de Or.* 14).

Gratia aut ambitione.—" Predilection or sinister motives."

Plerique—In Tacitus, is frequently equivalent to πολλοὶ merely, as well as to οἱ πολλοί. " Many considered it rather as a confidence in their integrity than as a mark of arrogance to write their own lives." *Et plerisque gratus vecordi facundia. Nobis pleraque digna evenere* (*Annal.* vi. 7). See also *Annal.* iv. 20. xv. 63. *Agr.* 40.

Rutilio et Scauro.—Rutilius, in addition to a biography of himself, composed a history and some orations. He was lieutenant to Quintilius Caec. Metellus Numidicus, A.U.C. 645. He was accused of bribery by Scaurus, was unjustly condemned, and went into exile to Smyrna, of which place he became a citizen, and refused to return at the invitation of Sulla. He is introduced by Cicero in the *De Republica.* M. Aemilius Scaurus was consul with M. Caec. Metellus in A.U.C. 639, and again in 647, and censor in 645. He was one of the commissioners sent to Africa in the Jugurthine war, and suffered himself to be corrupted by Jugurtha. He was a violent opposer of Saturninus ; and was charged by Varius with having been instrumental in exciting the revolt of the Italian allies, but was acquitted (*Cic. Brut.* 29. *Plin.* xxxiii. 6). It is not unlikely that Rutilius, in his voluntary exile, wrote his own life as a defence of his conduct, and that this induced Scaurus to write a biography of himself.

Citra fidem.—See *Germ.* 16, Note. *Citra Romanum sanguinem bellanti* (c. 35). *Ungi citra sudorem* (*Celsus.* i. 6). Compare *Cic. Ep.* v. 12, towards the end. *Et verecundius ipsi de sese scribant necesse est*, &c.

CHAP. II.—*At mihi .. opus fuit.*—Though, under Trajan, liberty had again dawned upon Rome, and men's courage had begun to revive, Tacitus had still to fear the malicious accusations of many, who would imagine that in portraying the crimes of the past age, a side reference was made to their own ; and therefore, at the commencement of his memoir, he asks for security against all charges of this kind. The passage may be illustrated from the Annals (iv. 33).

Legimus .. fuisse.—Both occurrences took place in Domitian's reign, A.U.C. 846 or 847. Tacitus was present at the death of Senecio, as we learn from *c.* 45, *Nos innocenti sanguine H. Senecio perfudit. Legimus*, that is, in the *Acta Diurna* :—*Diurna pop. Rom. per provincias, per exercitus curatius leguntur ut noscatur quid Thrasea non fecerit* (*Annal.* xvi. 22). For the account of the death of Thrasea Paetus of Patavium under Nero, A.U.C. 820, see *Annal.* xvi. 21. Concerning Helvedius Priscus, the son-in-law of Thrasea, see *Hist.* iv. 5. *Dio Cass.* lxvi. 12. With regard to Herennius Senecio, see *c.* 45. *Plin. Epist.* iv. 11. vii. 19. *Dio*, lxvii. 13.

Aruleno Rustico.—See *Annal.* xvi. 25, 26. Among the accusers of Arulenus M. Regulus was *subscriptor*. The real accuser was Metius Carus.

In comitio ac foro.—The *comitium*, which adjoined the forum, was the place of public execution. *Nefas commissum est ; ad expiandum scelus Triumviris opus est, comitio, carnifice* (*Sen. Cont.* vii. 1).

Expulsi, &c.—Eusebius mentions that the philosophers were twice expelled by Domitian, first in A.D. 89, and again in A.D. 96. That Tacitus refers to the latter of these occasions is evident from *c.* 45, and from Dio (lxvii. 13), Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ (φιλόσοφοι) αὖθις ἐξηλάθησαν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης. As this expulsion of the philosophers is spoken of as the consequence of the deaths of Senecio and Arulenus, it should probably be placed in the commencement of the year 847 (A.D. 94).

Vetus aetas—Like *prius aevum* (*Hist.* i. 1), in Tacitus generally refers to the period before the battle of Actium.

Quid ultimum esset in libertate.—By the *ultimum in libertate*, we are not to understand the greatest happiness, nor the last remnants of

liberty under Augustus and Tiberius; but rather unbridled licentiousness, the *immoderata libertas* of Cicero.

CHAP. III.—*Saeculi ortu.*—Saeculum here does not mean a century; but a period of uncertain duration, lasting till another emperor introduced a new order of things. See *Suet. Oct. c.* 100. So, Pliny (*Ep.* x. 2) calls Domitian's reign *tristissimum saeculum.* Compare, *Magnum quidem illud saeculi tui decus* (*Plin. Pan.* 6).

Nerva Caesar.—Since Tacitus does not apply to him the term *Divus,* it may be concluded that the life of Agricola was published while Nerva was alive; that is, between the 16th of September, A.D. 97, when Trajan was adopted, and the 27th of January, A.D. 98, the date of Nerva's death.

Nerva Trajanus.—Trajan was so called when adopted by Nerva. There is a gold coin with the inscription, NERVA TRAJAN. CAES. GERM. NERV. AUG. F. (filius) P. TR. P. (pontifex tribuniciae potestatis) COS. II. and on the reverse ADOPTATIO.

Securitas — Is here personified; and there is an allusion to the medallions struck by the emperors, with the figure of the goddess *Securitas,* and the inscription *Securitas,* or *Securitati perpetuae.*

Nec spem .. adsumpserit. This is an instance of what the grammarians call zeugma; *adsumpserit* properly applies only to *ipsius voti fiduciam et robur.* After *nec spem modo ac votum,* we must supply some such word as *conceperit.*

Per quindecim annos.—During which Domitian reigned; from A.D. 81 to 96.

Promptissimus quisque.—"All those most distinguished for their readiness and activity."

Pauci .. sumus.—"A few of us have outlived not only others (in a corporeal sense), but even ourselves (in what relates to the mind), if I may use the expression." Because, to use the words of Pliny (*Ep.* viii. 14), *Ingenia nostra posterum quoque hebetata, fracta, contusa sunt.*

Quibus .. venimus.—Tacitus could not include himself amongst the latter class, as at this period he was about forty-five years old. By *silentium* he means the repression of mental activity, referring to what he had said before, *studia oppresseris facilius quam revocaveris.*

Memoriam prioris servitutis.—Namely, in his Histories and Annals.

Testimonium praesentium bonorum.—In the history of Nerva and

Trajan, which he intended to compose in his old age. See *Hist.* i. 1.

Pietas most generally means filial affection.

CHAP. IV.—*Vetere et illustri Forojuliensium colonia.*—The term *illustris* is applied to it not so much from its own intrinsic importance, as from the renown of its founder, Julius Caesar. It was founded about the year B.C. 43, on the site of the ancient Oxübia. Pliny (iii. 4) calls it *Octavanorum colonia* (from the veterans of the eighth legion, who composed the colony), and *Pacensis et Classica* (from its being the station of a Roman fleet). The modern name is Frejus.

Caesarum procuratorem.—These *procuratores* not only exacted the tribute from the provinces, and acted as stewards where the emperor had possessions, but collected the *vigesima hereditatum*, and other perquisites of the emperors.

Quae equestris nobilitas est.—Which post raises a man to the rank of an *eques illustris*, and gives him the right to sit in the senate, and to wear the *toga laticlava.* A distinction of rank had arisen even in the time of Augustus among the equites. Dio (lix. 9) says, speaking of Caligula:—Τοῦ τέλους τοῦ τῶν ἱππέων ὀλιγανδροῦντος τοὺς πρώτους ἐξ ἁπάσης (καὶ τῆς ἔξω) ἀρχῆς τοῖς τε συγγενέσι, καὶ ταῖς περιουσίαις μεταπεμψάμενος κατελέξατο. Καί τισιν αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῇ βουλευτικῇ, καὶ πρὶν ἄρξαι τινὰ ἀρχήν, δι' ἧς ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσερχόμεθα, χρῆσθαι τι ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς βουλῆς ἐλπίδι ἔδωκεν.

Julius Graecinus. — Columella (i. 14) says :—*Duo volumina similium praeceptorum de vineis Julius Graecinus composita facetius et eruditius posteritati tradenda esse curavit.* Extracts from his works may be seen in Columella (III. xii. 1. IV. iii. 6), and elsewhere. Pliny also made use of his writings. (*H. N.* xiv. and xv.)

M. Silanum.—Silanus was consul A.D. 19 (*Annal.* ii. 59). In the year 33, Caius Caesar married his daughter, *Junia Claudilla* (*Annal.* vi. 20). He was appointed proconsul of Africa, and afterwards put to death by the emperor (*Hist.* iv. 48. *Suet. Cal.* 23).

Per omnem honestarum artium cultum.—*Omnem* must be taken in sense with *artium* ; " in the cultivation of all liberal studies." *Simul desperatione alia salutis* (for *alius salutis*) (*Liv.* xliv. 10). *Ad majora rerum initia* (i. 1). Πολλὰς ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν Ἡρώων (*Hom. Il.* α. 3). Τὸν δ' ἀθλίως θανόντα Πολυνείκους νέκυν (*Soph. Ant.* 26). *Honestae artes*, ἐγκύκλιοι, or *artes ingenuae* (*Dial. de Or.* 29, 30). See *Statius Silv.* v. 3. 147-foll. *Cic. de Off.* i. 42.

Arcebat .. quod .. habuerat.—The indicative *habuerat* is necessary; because it simply assigns the reason for *arcebat.* "What preserved him from the allurements of the vicious, in addition to his own good and uncorrupted disposition, was that," &c. Passages such as *Gratior Caecinae modestia fuit, quod non scripsisset* (*Hist.* ii. 55); *Causa necis ex eo quod domum — praebuisset* (*Annal* xi. 4), are not exactly analogous.

Locum .. mixtum.—"A place in which Grecian politeness and provincial moderation and frugality were mingled and well united." So, *Vir bonis malisque mixtus* (*Hist.* i. 10).

Ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatori. — *Veterum Romanorum imitamenta praeferre, assumpta etiam Stoicorum arrogantia sectaque, quae turbidos et negotiorum appetentes faciat* (*Annal.* xiv. 57). *Ista secta Tuberones et Favonios veteri quoque Reipublicae ingrata nomina genuit. Ut imperium evertant, libertatem praeferunt. Si perverterint, ipsam aggredientur* (*Annal.* xvi. 22). See *Dio*, lxvi. 12.

Hausisse—For *hausurum fuisse*; as, *Non enim se caedem principis, et res novas uno socio cogitasse* (*Annal.* iv. 28).

Vehementius quam caute.—So, *Tanto infensius caesi, quanto.. proditores.. incusabantur* (*Annal.* iv. 48). *Quanto intentus.. tanto occultior* (iv. 67). *Tanto acceptius—quanto modicus* (vi. 45). The more regular construction would have been *vehementius quam cautius.*

Ratio — Has various meanings in Tacitus and Cicero. It is used for:—1) "An account" (*Germ.* 22. *Annal.* i. 6. vi. 16. xiii. 14); 2) "Assigning a motive or reason" (*Hist.* iv. 14); 3) "The motive or reason itself" (*Annal.* vi. 26. *Hist.* iii. 82); 4) "A plan," or "resolution" (*Hist.* iii. 22. iv. 56. 63); 5) "Rational, and calculating consideration" (*Hist.* ii. 25. 80. *Germ.* 30. *Agr.* 4. 18. 29); 6) "Conduct and behaviour" (*Annal.* xi. 11. xv. 62); 7) "Circumstances" (*Germ.* 6).

Retinuitque .. modum.—"And he retained, what is the most difficult of all, from the study of wisdom—*moderation.*" The ancient philosophers taught that nothing is good in itself, unless under the regulation of φρόνησις (*Plat. Men.* p. 88. *B.* *Arist. Eth. ad Nic.* ii. 5).

Insani sapiens nomen ferat, aequus iniqui,
Ultra quam satis est virtutem si petat ipsam.
Hor. Ep. I. vi. 15.

Plato (*Gorg.* p. 484, *C.*) gives the best commentary upon this passage:—"Φιλοσοφία γάρτοι ἐστὶν ὦ Σώκρατες, χάριεν, ἄν τις αὐτοῦ

μετρίως ἅψηται ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἐάν δὲ περαιτέρω τοῦ δέοντος ἐνδιατρίψῃ, διαφθορὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· Ἐὰν γὰρ καὶ πάνυ εὐφυὴς ᾖ, καὶ πόῤῥω τῆς ἡλικίας φιλοσοφῇ, ἀνάγκη πάντων ἄπειρον γεγονέναι ἐστὶν ὧν χρὴ ἔμπειρον εἶναι τὸν μέλλοντα καλὸν κἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐδόκιμον ἔσεσθαι ἄνδρα, κ. τ. λ.

Chap. V.—*Prima .. adprobavit.*—Agricola probably came to Britain with Suetonius Paulinus (*c.* 14) in A.U.C. 812. At all events, he was in Britain in the year 814. Compare *Suet. Aug.* 38. *Plin. Ep.* viii. 14. When a person contracted to perform a piece of work, and brought it back completed according to the terms of the agreement, he was said *adprobare opus locatori.*

Adprobavit .. electus.—These words are not to be understood as in the sense of *adprobavit postquam electus erat,* but rather in that of *quippe qui electus erat.*

Respecting Suetonius Paulinus, see *Annal.* xiv. 29. 33, 34. 37. xvi. 14. *Hist.* i. 87. 90. ii. 23. 31, 32. 44. 60.

Contubernio aestimaret.—"Through his intimacy with him as messmate." *Contubernium,* for *contubernalis consuetudo,* occurs in *Annal.* xiii. 46. *Neronem e contubernio servili (Actes) nihil nisi sordes traxisse* *Aestimare* implies the attentive contemplation of an object to discover its value and quality. *Civitati quodcunque acciderit, non rerum magnitudine, sed viribus extenuatis aestimandum esse (Liv.* xxii. 8). *Ne scelus intra ancipitia probatum mox veris pretiis aestimaret (Annal.* xi. 26). It never means to think worthy, or to esteem.

Ad voluptates .. rettulit.—We must not join together *titulum et inscitiam tribunatus,* but *ad voluptates et inscitiam titulum tribunatus rettulit.* To express the full force of the sentence, a pause should be made before *inscitiam.* "Agricola did not avail himself of the rank of tribune for indulging in pleasures, or leaves of absence, or for continuing in ignorance."

Simulque anxius (futurorum) *et intentus* (praesentium).—Χρὴ δὲ ἀεὶ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ τῇ μὲν γνώμῃ θαρσαλέους στρατεύειν τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ δεδιότας παρεσκευάσθαι. Οὕτω γὰρ πρός τε τὸ ἐπιέναι τοῖς ἐναντίοις εὐψυχότατοι ἂν εἶεν, πρός τε τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι ἀσφαλέστατοι (*Thuc.* ii. 11).

Exercitatior (sc.) *bello.*—So, *Exercitatas aut petit Syrtes Noto (Hor. Epod.* ix. 31).

Trucidati veterani, incensae coloniae.—The veterans in the colony of Camolodunum, whose town was completely destroyed. In the words, *intercepti exercitus,* Tacitus refers to the legion under Petilius Cerealis,

which was coming to their assistance. The disturbance was quelled by Suetonius Paulinus on his return from Mona. See *Annal.* xiv. 29—37. Camolodunum was the only colony in Britain; hence it has been proposed to read *incensa colonia;* but the alteration is unnecessary: since Tacitus only appears to have used the plural in an oratorical manner, as the other words *veterani* and *exercitus* are in the plural. Londinium was not a colony; and Verulamium was a municipium. Besides, we are not told that these places were burnt.

Intercepti,—"Cut off and destroyed."

Addidere—Properly suits only *stimulos.* So, *Ad conjugii spem, consortionem regni, et necem mariti impulit* (*Annal.* iv. 3).

CHAP. VI.—*In urbem digressus.*—A.D. 62.

Domitiam Decidianam.—The name, *Decidiana,* may probably have arisen from her mother having been called *Decidia.* The names *Domitianus* and *Vespasianus* arose in a similar way.

Nisi quod in bona uxore tanto major laus, quanto in mala plus culpae est.—*Laus* is here used for whatever is praiseworthy; and its opposite, *culpa,* for whatever is blameable. *Laus in bona uxore* is, "whatever is praiseworthy in a good wife." *Nisi quod,* which restricts or corrects something that has been said before, is often used with an ellipse which must be supplied by the reader; as in *Annal.* i. 33. xiv. 14, at the end. So here, the meaning of the sentence is, "They both loved one another sincerely, and each gave the other the preference; for which both deserve credit; only we must allow that, in a virtuous wife there is proportionably as much more of what is praiseworthy, as in a bad wife there is of what is blameable;" i. e. when placed in comparison with the virtues and vices of the husband. The same sentiment is expressed by Homer (*Od.* λ. 426) —

Ὡς οὐκ αἰνότερον καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο γυναικὸς
ἥτις δὴ τοιαῦτα μετὰ φρεσὶν ἔργα βάληται.

And by Euripides (*Frag. Melanipp.* 7),

Τῆς μὲν κακῆς κάκιον οὐδὲν γίνεται
γυναικός· ἐσθλῆς δ' οὐδὲν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν
πέφυκ' ἄμεινον.

Not because, to use Virgil's words, *Gratior est pulcro veniens in corpore virtus;* but because, from the weaker character of woman, the restraint of any evil propensities is more worthy of praise.

Salvium Titianum.—Lucius Salvius Otho Titianus, the elder brother of M. Salvius Otho, who was at this time serving as proconsul in Lusitania. For what is known of him, see *Annal.* xii. 52. *Hist.* i. 77. 90. ii. 23. 33. 39. 60.

Parata peccantibus.—Not *Exposita rapinis magistratuum ut dives et ad spoliandum parata*, but rather "Where many of the inhabitants of the province are the ready instruments of the crimes of the rulers."

Proconsul .. mali.—"And the proconsul, given up to every kind of avarice, would have purchased the mutual concealment of guilt (by granting Agricola) any facilities for (plundering which he wished)."

Filia.—Afterwards the wife of Tacitus.

Sublatum.—New-born infants were placed on the ground; and if the father chose to acknowledge and rear them, he lifted them up (*tollebat*). If he did not do so, they were exposed.

Brevi amisit.—He also lost a second son, born twenty years afterwards (*c.* 28).

Ipsum tribunatus annum.—A.D. 65. *Annum* must be taken with *inter quaest. ac trib.* as well as *tribunatus plebis.* "The year between his quaestorship and tribuneship of the plebs, and also the very year of his tribuneship, he passed," &c.

Praeturae.—Agricola was praetor in A.D. 67. He was quaestor in A.D. 63. *Praeturae tenor.* So, *Vitae tenor* (*Liv.* xl. 12). *Uno et perpetuo tenore juris semper usurpato* (*Liv.* xxxv. 16).

Nec enim jurisdictio obvenerat.—What is meant by *jurisdictio* in this passage is not clear. For some account of its nature in the time of Cicero, see Ernesti (*Clav. Cic. sub Jurisdictio*), where he explains this passage as meaning that Agricola had been appointed one of the *quaesitores*, but had rarely any occasion to exercise his office; but, under the emperors, even the *quaestiones perpetuae* were in the hands of the senate, and carried on under the direction of the emperor, and little else was left to the praetors than the management of the games. This explains the ironical answer of Piso. *Adfuturum, ubi praetor, qui de veneficiis quaereret reo atque accusatoribus diem predixisset* (*Annal.* ii. 79).

Obvenerat. — *Sorte.*

Ludos et inania honoris.—The *ludi honorarii* (*Suet. Aug.* 32). The magistrates spent enormous sums upon these, in order to ingratiate themselves with the people (*Juv.* vi. 380. x. 36). *Inania honoris.* So, *Inania nobilitatis.* (*Cic. Verr. Act.* vi.)

Ludos .. duxit. — In celebrating the games he kept within those limits which were prescribed by proper calculation, and by his own means. *Modus rationis*, like *praeceptum rationis*. *Ducere* is here equivalent to *edere*. The notion of *leading* a procession, &c. gave rise to that of "taking the lead in," "presiding over," "managing;" ἡγεῖσθαι is used in a similar manner in Greek. Πελοποννήσου τῆς πάσης ἡγοῦνται (*Thuc.* i. 71). Πέρσαι ἡγούμενοι τῆς 'Ασίας. (*Plato Menex.* p. 239. d.)

Uti longe .. propior. — Though celebrated without any great profusion, these games would be extolled for their splendour, rather than passed over in silence as though exhibited in a paltry manner. *Propior* οἰκεῖος, ἀδελφός. So, *Cui propior cum Tiberio usus erat* (*Annal.* ii. 28). *Esse illi propiora consilia* (iv. 40).

Diligentissima .. sensisset.—Not only were the temples destroyed by the conflagration in the reign of Nero; but when Nero himself was in want of money for the erection of his palace, he despoiled the temples of their offerings (*Annal.* xv. 38—43. 45). Tacitus means to say that Agricola succeeded in recovering most of the treasure from the hands of those who had appropriated it during the confusion, except such parts as had been plundered by Nero. These *conquisitiones sucrorum* were not unfrequently instituted. See *Livy* xxv. 7.

CHAP. VII.—*Classis Othoniana .. populatur.*—This was in March, A.D. 69. See *Hist.* i. 87. ii. 11—17. The attack upon Intemelium was a consequence of the ill-planned measures of defence adopted by Marius Maturus, the procurator of Liguria, who had gone over from Otho to Vitellius. The name of the town was Albium Intemelium. Strabo (iv. 6. 1) speaks of Ἄλβιον Ἰντεμέλιον καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἰντεμέλιοι. The modern name is Vintimiglia.

Adfectati.—This word is not used here as in *Liv.* xxviii. 18, but implies the seizure of the empire.

Ac statim in partes transgressus est.—At least three months must have elapsed between the death of his mother and his joining the party of Vespasian. Otho's death after the battle at Bedriacum took place in April, A. D. 69 (*Hist.* ii. 55). Vitellius visited the battle-field forty days after the battle (*Hist.* ii. 70), and Vitellius's entry into Rome took place on the 18th of July (*Hist.* ii. 91).

Initia .. Mucianus.—At first, indeed, Antonius Primus, who marched

into Rome at the end of December, A. D. 69 ; but in the following January Mucianus arrived, and acquired all the power (*Hist.* iv. 11).

Status—Here means "welfare." *Nam statum hucusque ac securitatem melius innocentia tueor quam eloquentia* (*Dial. de Or.* 11). *Nam multorum excisi status* (*Annal.* iii. 28).

Admodum juvene Domitiano.—He was at that time eighteen years old. *Admodum juvene* : in *Hist.* ii. 78. iv. 5. *Annal.* ii. 80, the adverb follows the adjective.

Et ex paterna .. usurpante.—*Ceterum omnem vim dominationis tam licenter exercuit, ut jam tum qualis futurus esset ostenderet* (*Suet. Dom.* i). See *Hist.* iv. 39.

Missum ad delectus agendos.—In the beginning of A.D. 70. Agricola set out for Britain probably in the spring of the same year.

Vicesimae.. praeposuit.—The reason why, of the four legions posted in Britain (the second, ninth, fourteenth, and twentieth), the second only took the oath promptly, is given by Tacitus (*Hist.* iii. 44). The twentieth legion was staying amongst the Cornavii at Deva (now Chester).

Decessor.—That is, of Agricola: namely Roscius Coelius. *Seditiose agere narrabatur.* See *Hist.* i. 60. Vettius Bolanus was sent to supply the place of Trebellius, whom Coelius had forced to fly to Vitellius at Lyons.

Nimia.—As we say in the common expression in English, "too much for." Compare *Urgulaniae potentia nimia civitati erat* (*Annal.* ii. 34). *Pompeium nimium jam liberae reipublicae* (*Vell.* ii. 32). *Soles nimios pecori* (*Silius Punic.* xv. 708).

Legatus praetorius.—*Roscius Coelius* (*Hist.* i. 60).

Incertum suo, an militum ingenio. —"Either because he did not know how to command or they to obey."

CHAP. VIII.—*Placidius .. dignum est.*—*Esset* has been proposed instead of *est* : but though this would do very well if it were merely a remark of Tacitus founded upon past events, *est* is equally well suited to the time at which Tacitus was writing ; for after the death of Agricola, Britain, or at least Caledonia, had thrown off the yoke (*Hist.* i. 2). The name of a second Calgacus, the Caledonian Arviragus, was renowned at Rome (*Juv.* iv. 127).

Brevi deinde .. accepit.—In A. D. 71. Petilius Cerialis had before this been lieutenant of the ninth legion, under Suetonius Paulinus

(*Annal.* xiv. 32). He was afterwards one of the generals of Vespasian, to whom he was related (*Hist.* iii. 59), and was actively engaged in the seizure of Rome (iii. 78, 79). He was sent into Germany; and after the end of his campaign against Civilis, appointed to succeed Bolanus (*Hist.* iv. 68. 71. 75. 78. 86. v. 14. 21. 23).

Habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum. — "Room for displaying themselves as examples." *Videbatur locus virtutibus patefactus* (*Annal.* xiii. 8).

Communicabat (*sc.* cum Agricola).—This verb does not appear to be used elsewhere by itself in this way. Thucydides (i. 39) uses κοινώσαντας and μεταδιδόναι in a similar manner.

In suam famam .. exsultavit.—"To increase his own renown." So, *In hanc tam opimam mercedem, agite .. arma capite* (*Liv.* xxi. 43). Generally in the older writers, when *in* or *ad* is used after a verb to express an object, a participle is subjoined. Others join *in suam famam* with *gestis*.

CHAP. IX. — *Provinciae Aquitaniae.* — Gallia Comata comprised three provinces, Aquitania, Gallia Lugdunensis or Celtica, and Belgica. Aquitania was the tract between the Garonne, the Loire, the Pyrenees, and the Cevennes. It was annexed to the Roman empire under Augustus (*Caes. B. G.* i. 1. *Ptol.* ii. 7).

Splendidae in primis dignitatis. — So, *Princeps antiquae parcimoniae* (*Annal.* iii. 52). *Mater Julia Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis* (*c.* 4). Sometimes the genitive and ablative occur together; as, *Poenum hostem, veteranum trium et viginti stipendiorum, durissima militia* (*Liv.* xxi. 16). A distinction is to be observed between the two: the genitive supplies the place of an adjective; the ablative, that of an adverb: the former is used to denote an essential quality; the latter, to mark any characteristic that may have been observed in, or attributed to anything.

Praeposuit—In A. D. 74. His command here lasted nearly three years.

Administratione et spe consulatus.—"On account of the importance of the command itself, and the hopes it gave of the consulate." *Spe consulatus.* See *Suet. Galba,* 6.

Cui destinarat.—"To which he had destined him." The ellipse of *eum* is harsh.

Secura.—"Careless" respecting the subtleties of law. Compare *Cic. de Orat.* i. 36, 37.

Quamvis inter togatos. — At the *conventus juridici.* *Togati* is here equivalent to *litigantes;* suits could only be carried on in the toga and in Latin. It does not mean lawyers or advocates alone, or citizens merely, in opposition to soldiers.

Facile .. agebat.—The meaning of *facile* appears from *Dig.* i. *tit.* 16. *sect.* 9. *De Off. Proc.* from *Ulpian, Circa advocatos patientem esse proconsulem oportet, sed cum ingenio, ne contemptibilis videatur.*

Jam.—"From this time forward."

Ubi conventus. — The *conventus juridici,* at which judicial courts were held. Thus, according to Pliny, *In Baetica erant juridici conventus quattuor; Gaditanus, Cordubensis, Astigitanus, Hispalensis* (*Hist. Nat.* iii. 1).

Nulla ultra potestatis persona.—"He no longer played the magistrate."

Tristitiam.—Not gloominess of disposition, or asperity of manners, but the "sternness" which beseems a magistrate. Donatus on Terence, *Tristis severitas inest in voltu* (*And.* v. ii. 16), remarks:— *Ad laudem interdum sumitur, non ad amaritudinem, tristis. P. Sulpicius judex tristis et integer* (*Cic. in Verr. Act.* i. 10). *Adversus superiores tristi adulatione* (*Annal.* xi. 21).

Adrogantiam — Here means, not the assumption of what does not belong to a person, but the rigid exaction of all the respect and attention to which he has a claim. It is used in the same sense in *c.* 16. 42. *Annal.* ii. 72. *Liv.* v. 8. 37. 56.

Avaritiam — Here has its ordinary meaning. Agricola was not naturally *avarus* any more than he was *tristis* or *adrogans;* but he was obliged to comply with the commands of Vespasian, who was likely enough to replenish his exhausted coffers by exactions from this wealthy province. Compare *Hist.* ii. 84. *Suet. Vesp.* 16. *Avarus* was often equivalent to *parum liberalis;* so, Cicero says, *Qui hoc fecit avarum possumus existimare, crimen in eo constituere non possumus* (*In Verr.* iii. 16). So that *avaritia* here implies the greatest severity in exacting tribute.

Nec illi .. deminuit.—*Observandum est jus reddenti, ut in adeundo quidem facilem se praebeat, sed contemni non patiatur; unde mandatis adjicitur, ne praesides provinciarum in ulteriorem familiaritatem provinciales admittant. Nam ex conversatione aequali contemtio nascitur. Summatim ita jus reddi jubet, ut auctoritatem dignitatis ingenio suo augeat* (*Dig.* i. *tit.* 18. *sect,* 19, from *Callistratus*).

Per artem.—By means of such acts as governors frequently employ to secure the good will of their provincial subjects. There is an allusion perhaps, also, to addresses of thanks from the inhabitants of the province to the emperor, during and after the time of the administration (*Dio*, lvi. 25. p. 824). *Ne quis ad concilium sociorum referret, agendas apud senatum propraetoribus proveconsulibus grates, neu quis ea legatione fungeretur* (*Annal.* xv. 22).

Ab aemulatione adversus conlegas.—Magistrates who were created at the same comitia, and when these were no longer held, by the senate and emperors, were called *conlegae.* So in *Hist.* ii. 10, the colleagues of Mucianus are the governors of Judaea, Cappadocia, and Egypt; as, here, the colleagues of Agricola are all the provincial prefects, especially those appointed over the Gallic and Spanish provinces.

Procul a contentione adversus procuratores. — Each province had only one procurator at a time, and it does not seem that they were often changed; so that this plural must imply disputes such as commonly arise between governors and procurators.

Et vincere .. arbitrabatur.—Viz. in such disputes as those. *Adteri* answers to ἐλασσοῦσθαι, which is used of any infringement upon a person's dignity, or the respect and attention to which he has a claim. Καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκαις (*Thuc.* i. 77). Πανταχόθεν τι νομίζων ἐλασσοῦσθαι, τότε πρῶτον ἀντεῖπεν (v. 43). So, *Insigne attenuat deus* (*Hor. Od.* I. xxxiv. 13).

Minus triennium. See *Dio*, lii. 23. *Annal.* i. 80.

Comitante opinione.—So, κῦδος ὀπηδεῖ (*Hom. Il.* ρ. 251, and elsewhere).

In hoc.—Εἰς τοῦτο, for *ad id.* *A dispositis in id ipsum interemptus est* (*Vell.* ii. 27). *Nec in hoc adhibetur* (*Sen. Ep.* 16).

Nullis .. suis sermonibus. — Ablative absolute. So, *Nullis contra terris* (*c.* 10).

Quia par videbatur.—"Because he appeared competent."

Consul. — A. D. 77; when Vespasianus Augustus for the eighth time, and Titus Caesar for the sixth, entered upon the consulate, and were succeeded on the 1st of July by Domitianus Caesar, then consul for the sixth time, and Cn. Julius Agricola.

Adjecto pontificatus sacerdotio.—This never ceased to be reckoned a mark of distinction. *Sed Otho pontificatus auguratusque honoratis jam senibus cumulum dignitatis addidit* (*Hist.* i. 77).

CHAP. X.—*Multis scriptoribus.*—As Caesar (*B. G.* iv. 21 foll. v. 8 foll. 12—15. 20—23), Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* iv. 16. or 30), Ptol. (iii. 2), Diod. (v. 21. 22), Agathem. (ii. 4), Strabo (ii. p. 116. 120. 128. iii. p. 137. 195. iv. p. 199, 200), Livy (i. 105), Fabius Rusticus, Mela, and others.

Non in comparationem.. referam.—*Non ea de causa referam, ut comparatio inde fiat mei et aliorum ingenii.*

Itaque.—Equivalent to *et ita. Quum quaestor in Sicilia fuissem, itaque ex ea provincia decessissem* (*Cic. Div. in Caec.* 1). *Immo ita volo itaque postulo* (*Ter. And.* III. iii. 18). See *Drak. on Liv.* iii. 30.

Rerum fide.—So, *Verba sine fide rerum jactata* (*Liv.* xxxiii. 34).

Spatio .. obtenditur.—The old geographers gave the northern coast of Spain a north-westerly direction; and, unacquainted with the extent to which Bretagne reached westward, made the coasts of Gaul and Germany run in an almost uniform north-easterly direction. Tacitus seems to have placed Britain in the angle thus formed. He means to say here that it is situated between nearly the same degrees both of latitude and longitude as those parts of the coasts of Spain and Germany opposite to which it lies. He (*c.* 24) imagined Ireland to lie between Britain and Spain, though there is no reason to suppose that he placed it on the south-west of Britain. Ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη ἀπέχει μὲν τῆς ἠπείρου τῆς Κελτικῆς κατὰ Μορίνους σταδίους πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίους τὸ συντομώτατον· παρήκει δὲ παρὰ τὴν λοιπὴν Γαλατίαν, καὶ παρὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ὀλίγου πᾶσαν ἔς τε τὸ πέλαγος ἀνατείνουσα (*Dio*, xxxix. 50).

Nullis contra terris.—Examples of ablatives absolute used in this manner are found in other writers beside Tacitus; as, *Bonis tribunis plebis* (*Cic. Phil.* i. 10). *Multorum eo statu, qui diuturnus esse non posset* (*Liv.* xxxvi. 6).

Fabius Rusticus.—A contemporary of Claudius and Nero, and a near friend of Seneca, more so than was consistent with the unbiassed love of truth which should characterise the historian (*Annal.* xiii. 20). He wrote the history of his times. Tacitus quotes him again in his history of Nero (xiv. 2. xv. 61.) If his history extended over the reigns of Caligula and Nero, he probably mentioned Britain when speaking of the expedition of Claudius (A. D. 43). It does not seem that he commenced his history from the point where Livy left off, as has been imagined; for Tacitus does not mention him in his

earlier books. He could not have published his history before the death of Nero (see *Annal.* xiv. 2).

Oblongae scutulae.—The shape of the *scutula* is given by Censorinus, *Heteromeros quadrangulum, nec latera habet paria, nec angulos rectos, simile scutellae* (*De Die Nat.* 18) ; *i. e.* it was a trapezium.

Unde .. transgressa.—*Fama* is the nominative. With *fama* we must supply a genitive from *facies*. *In universum* is equivalent to *in universam Britanniam.*

Unde et.—So, Greek, *Διόπερ καὶ* or *διὸ καὶ*. (*Thuc.* i. 71. *Plat. Gorg.* p. 525. d).

Sed inmensum .. tenuatur.—The words *extremo jam litore* are not to be joined, by means of the figure called *hyperbaton*, with *velut in cuneum tenuatur*, but with *terrarum procurrentium.* "An immense and boundless extent of land, and jutting out from that part where the coast almost comes to an end." In the words *extremo jam litore* Tacitus alludes to the narrow isthmus between the Clota and Bodotria, the southern boundary of Caledonia. Tacitus had formed a more correct notion of the shape of Britain than either Caesar, Strabo, or Ptolemy.

Hanc oram .. adfirmavit.—In the time of Agricola. Γναῖος Ἰούλιος Ἀγρικόλας πάντα κατέδραμε, καὶ πρῶτός γε Ῥωμαίων ὧν ἴσμεν ἔγνω τοῦθ᾽, ὅτι ἡ Βρεττανία περίῤῥυτός ἐστι (*Dio*, lxvi. 20). *Tunc*, "at this time." *Tunc* refers to present as well as to past and future time. (*Annal.* ii. 9. *Liv.* i. 25. ix. 41. xxi. 35. xxii. 3, &c).

Incognitas .. domuitque. — According to Eusebius, Claudius had already annexed these to his dominions ; and the same is said by Eutropius (vii. 13), Orosius (vii. 5), Bede (*Hist. Angl.* i. 3), Gildas, and others ; and certainly a report of their existence had reached Rome by that time. Mela estimates their number at thirty, Pliny at forty ; so that *incognitas* must be equivalent to *leviter*, or *non penitus cognitas ;* as it is in *causas dicunt incognitas* (*Cic. de Orat.* ii. 24). *Ignotus* has a similar force in *Jus applicationis obscurum sane et ignotum patefactum atque illustratum est* (*De Orat.* i. 39). Again, *De Orat.* i. 42, *Liv.* xxviii. 44. and also in *c.* 30.

Dispecta est et Thule.—The verb *dispici* is used when speaking of anything which cannot be distinguished without difficulty. Thule is variously identified by different authors with Mainland, Norway, and Iceland. The last is the most probable; as the character and position

of Iceland agree best with the description of the situation of Thule given by Strabo and by Pliny.

Quam .. abdebat.—The text is doubtful in this passage ; some editions have *Dispecta est et Thule quadamtenus ; nix et hiems adpetebat :* and other variations have been proposed. But the reading in the text makes the best sense. "Which snow and winter had hitherto concealed." *Hactenus* is to be taken as an adverb of time ; as in *Hactenus quietae utrimque stationes fuere* (*Liv.* vii. 26). *Hactenus pro libertate, mox de finibus—pugnatum est* (*Flor.* i. 11. 5).

Mare pigrum.—Oceanum Septentrionalem ex ea parte, qua a Paropamiso amne Scythiae alluitur, Hecataeus Amalchium appellat, quod gentis illius lingua significet mare congelatum. Philemon a Cimbris ad promontorium Rubeas Morimarusam dicit vocari (h. e. mare mortuum). Ultra Rubeas quicquid est Cronium appellatur (*Solinus, c.* 22). In Welsh *mor* is the sea, and *marw* dead. In the Icelandic tongue, *muir croin* means the thick, congealed sea. Whether the cause of this is to be attributed to the sea-weed which still abounds upon the coast of Norway, or to any other circumstance, does not appear.

Proinde.—See notes on Germania (*c.* 5). *Perhibent ne ventis quidem proinde adtolli.* "They affirm that it is not even raised by the winds as it is elsewhere."

Naturam .. rettulere.—The ebb and flow of the tide in the Northern Ocean was a matter of some astonishment to the Romans ; as in the Mediterranean there is scarcely any tide at all (*Plin. Hist. Nat.* xvi. 1).

Multi rettulere.—As Pytheas of Massilia (*ap. Plut. de plac. philos.* iii. 17), Strabo (iii. p. 119), Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* ii. 97. 99), Seneca (*Quaest. Nat.* iii. 28), Lucan (*Phars.* i. 409).

Multum fluminum.—Tacitus here refers to marine currents, which were known to the ancients, as we learn from Mela (iii. 3). *Codanus ingens sinus magnis parvisque insulis refertus est. Hac re mare, quod gremio litorum accipitur, nusquam late patet, nec usquam mari simile, verum aquis passim interfluentibus ac saepe transgressis vagum atque diffusum facie amnium spargitur.*

Velut in suo.—i. e. *Et jugis etiam ac montibus inseri, veluti jugis montitibusque in suo.* The ancients, as well as the moderns, taught that the bed of the sea, like the continent, contained valleys and mountains, the summits of which formed rocks and islands (*Plin.* ii. 102. vi. 22). Ammianus Marc. speaking of the earthquake at Antioch,

says :—*Mare dispulsum retro fluctibus evolutis abscessit, ut retecta voragine profundorum species natantium multiformes limo cernerentur haerentes : valliumque vastitates et montium tunc, ut opinari dabatur, suspicerent radios solis, quos primogenia rerum natura sub immensis gurgitibus amandavit* (xxvi. 10. 16).

CHAP. XI.—*Indigenae an advecti.* — *Britanniae pars interior ab iis incolitur quos natos in insula ipsa memoria proditum dicunt* (*Caes. B. G.* v. 12).

Namque.—There is the same difference between *nam* and *namque*, as between *enim* and *etenim*, γὰρ and καὶ γάρ : *nam* and *namque* may be very frequently translated, as in this passage, " thus, for instance."

Rutilae . . adseverant.—See *Germ.* 4.

Silurum.—The inhabitants of the counties of Brecknock, Glamorgan, Monmouth, Hereford, and Radnor.

Colorati vultus.—Staining the face and body was not a custom peculiar to the Silures. See *Caes. B. G.* v. 14. But *colorati* properly refers to the dark complexion produced by the rays of the sun. Compare *Germ.* 45. *Plin.* ii. 78. Thus we have the expressions *Indi colorati*, *Seres colorati.*

Proximi Gallis.—*Caes. B. G.* v. 14.

Procurrentibus in diversa terris.—" Because the lands advance till they lie opposite one another ;" *i. e.* the coasts of the two countries, which at first run in different directions, gradually approach one another, till at the point where they end they lie opposite and parallel to one another. *Diversa* is used in the same sense as *adversa*, as *Victores diversum aciem Marti et Mercurio sacravere* (*Annal.* xiii. 57). *Dial. de Orat.* 1. *Hist.* iii. 13. *Annal.* xv. 15. With *habitum* we must supply *eum.* So, *Naturam* eam (c. 12), *Pretio* eo (c. 19). *Sub lege* (sc. ea) *venum daret, ne*, &c. (*Suet. Aug.* 21.)

In universum tamen aestimanti.—Compare *Germ.* 6. So, *Vere reputantibus* (*Hist.* iv. 17). This use of the dative is exceedingly common in Greek ; see *Herod.* i. 14. v. 88. *Thuc.* i. 10.

Superstitionum persuasione.—*i. e. Persuasio de superstitionibus.* So, *Persuasio falsa scientiae* (*Quinct.* i. 1. 8). Examples of a similar use of the ablative, without a participle to soften it, are found in *Non honore Galbae* (*Hist.* i. 44). *Odio, metu* (*Hist.* i. 51). *Amore et fide* (*Agr.* 41).

Plus tamen ferociae.—Ferox, does not mean ferocious ; but "proud and dauntless."

Britannorum olim victis.—" Which has happened to those of the Britons who have been long subdued ;" *i. e.* the subjects of Cynobellinus, conquered by Claudius.

CHAP. XII.—*Honestior auriga.*—Amongst the Greeks and Trojans, the ἡνίοχος was the less noble of the two. But compare *Diod.* v. 21. and v. 29.

Olim regibus .. trahuntur.—" Formerly they obeyed kings ; now they are torn asunder by the nobles with parties and factions." *Nunc .. trahuntur.* We have evidence of this in the frequency with which British princes, as Adminius, Bericus, &c. were compelled to take refuge amongst the Romans (*c.* 24). *Trahuntur* for *distrahuntur*, *vexantur*, as in *Annal.* iii. 74. xv. 1.

Rarus.. conventus.—Σπανίως ξυγχωροῦνται καθ' αὐτούς, λόγοις κοινοῖς χρώμενοι (*Thuc.* iv. 64). Tacitus is speaking of assemblies for the formation of plans for their common operations. So, *conventus Italiae* (*Annal.* ii. 35). *Extra conventum amandatum* (*Hist.* iv. 56). *Rarus conventus.*—So, *Multus sermo* (*Annal.* i. 9), *Reliquus praeturae dies* (*Annal.* xii. 4) are used in the singular where a plural is to be understood.

Duabus tribusque.—The substitution of *ve* for *que* is unnecessary. So, *Spem metumqae* (*Hist.* i. 62). *Capti caesique* (*Liv.* xxiii. 1). *Quid faciendum fugiendumque sit* (*Cic. Off.* i. 28). Δὶς καὶ τρίς (*Plat. Phaedr.* 235. a). Τρίτῃ δὲ καὶ τετάρτῃ ἀνίσταντο (*Xen. Anab.* IV. viii. 21).

Asperitas frigorum abest.—Loca sunt temperatiora quam in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus (*Caes. B. G.* v. 12).

Dierum .. mensuram.—i. e. *ultra mensuram dierum nostri orbis.* Elliptical expressions of this kind are not uncommon. *Ingenia nostrorum hominum multum ceteris hominibus omnium gentium praestiterant* (*Cic. Off.* i. 22. 7). *Nostrorum temporum eloquentiam antiquorum ingeniis anteferre* (*Dial de Orat.* 1). Compare *Hom. Il.* α. 163 ; *Od.* iv. 279. Τὰ τῶν 'Αθηναίων πλέον ὑμῶν κεκαίνωται, for πλέον ὑμετέρων (*Thuc.* i. 71). Pliny (ii. 75) says that in Italy the longest day lasts fifteen hours ; in Britain, seventeen.

Quod si nubes .. transire.—" Provided that clouds do not interpose, they say that the brightness of the sun can be seen during the night,

and that it neither sets nor rises, but moves across the sky." If by *fulgor solis* we could understand the light arising from the refracted rays of the sun, this would be strictly true; but the words *nec occidere .. sed transire* are hardly applicable to this, and must refer to the sun himself. *Ut sol ipse, qui nobis videtur occidere, ibi appareat praeterire* (*Eum. Paneg. in Const.* 9).

Scilicet .. cadit.—See Notes on *Germ.* c. 45.

Non erigunt tenebras.—"Do not cast their shadow in a perpendicular direction."

Frugum patiens.—For a long time Britain was the granary for the Roman army on the Rhine.

Humor .. caelique.—*Caelum*, "the atmosphere." *Namque et hoc caelum appellavere majores quod alio nomine aëra, omne quod vitali simile vitalem hunc spiritum fundit* (*Plin.* ii. 38).

Fert .. metalla.—Strabo (iv. p. 138) agrees with Tacitus. Cicero, on the contrary, says:—*Illud cognitum est, neque argenti scripulum esse ullum in illa insula* (*Ad Att.* iv. 16). Cambden speaks of gold mines in Cumberland and Scotland, and of silver mines near Ilfracomb.

Gignit .. liventia.—*In Britannia parvos et decolores nasci certum est* (*Plin.* ix. 35). Bede (*Hist. Angl.* i. 1), on the contrary, says:—*In quibus sunt musculae, quibus inclusam saepe margaritam omnis coloris quidem optimam inveniunt;* i. e. *Rubicundi et purpurei, et hyacinthini et prasini, sed maxime candidi.* The pearls which are found in Caernarvonshire in the river Conway, and in Cumberland in the river Irt, are equal to the best of those brought from the Indian Ocean; but they are so few and small, as not to repay the trouble of searching for them.

Quidam .. arbitrantur.—*Altius mersae haerent; nec nisi vi ac summo periculo avelluntur legentibus* (*Plin. Hist. Nat.* ix. 35).

In rubro mari.—Between Ceylon and Persia. *Quod in duos dividitur sinus Persicum ab oriente, et Arabicum ulteriorem ex adverso* (*Plin.* vi. 23).

CHAP. XIII.—*Britanniam ingressus.*—B. C. 55 and 54.

Mox bella civilia.—Understand *fuere.*

Consilium.. vocabat.—See *Annal.* i. 11. Strabo (ii. p. 115. iv. p. 200) assigns the reason for this. The Romans had nothing to fear from Britain, nor would much advantage be derived from the possession of it; and at the same time it could not be conquered and kept in sub-

jection without considerable expense. At the same time we must not overlook the friendly relations which had been established meantime between Augustus and Tenuantius, the son of Cassivellaunus. Cynobellinus, the son of Tenuantius, was brought up at Rome, and accompanied Augustus in several campaigns.

Tiberius praeceptum.—" This Augustus called policy ; Tiberius the orders " of his predecessor, *i. e.* Augustus. *Augustus addiderat consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii* (*Annal.* i. 77).

Agitasse . . Britannia.—" That Caius Caesar had meditated the invasion of Britain is quite certain ;" *and he would have done so,* " had he not been so precipitate in forming schemes, and so fickle in changing them, and had not his mighty attempts against Germany proved fruitless." See *Suet. Calig.* 46. *Dio Cass.* lix. 25. This expedition was undertaken not from Gaul, but from the Batavian shores. The lighthouse which Caligula built was at the second mouth of the Rhine, now choked with sand, where the remains of it still exist, and are called by sailors the *Calla-Thurm.*

Et ingentes . . fuissent.—See *Hist.* iv. 15. *Suet. Cal.* 43.

Divus Claudius auctor operis. — *Auctor operis,* " who carried these designs into effect." So, *Vell.* i. 5. 2. A British refugee, named Bericus, advised Claudius not to miss the opportunity of subduing Britain. For an account of the successes of Claudius, or rather of A. Plautius and Vespasian, in A. D. 43, see *Hist.* iii. 44. *Suet. Claud.* 17. *Dio,* lx. 19—23.

In partem rerum.—" To share in the undertaking."

Domitae gentes.—Only the Boduni are mentioned by Dio ; but his account is imperfect. As only Cynobellinus's sons, Caractacus and Togodumnus, appeared in the field against Plautius and Vespasian ; and after the capture of Camalodunum, the war was considered as completed. It appears probable that most of the tribes south of the Thames and Severn were under the dominion of Cynobellinus.

Capti reges. — Who these were we do not know. Bede says the country was divided between twenty-five petty kings.

Monstratus fatis.—" Pointed out by the fates." This use of the ablative without *a* is found not unfrequently. *Interpres fatis oblatus* (*Liv.* v. 15). *Cura fatis data* (*Hor. Od.* I. xii. 49). *Scriberis Vario* (*Od.* I. vi. 1). *Fatis* could not be the dative, since a person could hardly be said to be commended to the favour of the fates, who, as Seneca (*Quest. Nat.* 35) says, *Aliter jus suum peragunt, nec ulla com-*

moventur prece, non misericordia flectuntur, non gratia. Servant cursum irrevocabilem, et ex destinato fluunt.

CHAP. XIV.—*Primus Aulus Plautius praepositus.*—Plautius was the consular legatus during the years A. U. C. 796—800. See *Annal.* xiii. 32. *Dion,* lx. 19.

Subinde Ostorius Scapula.— A. U. C. 800—803. For an account of his contests with the Silures under Caractacus, see *Annal.* xii. 31. foll. Though he penetrated to the Irish Sea, and Caractacus was delivered up by Cartismandua, the queen of the Brigantes, he did not subdue the Silures. Oyster-hill, near Hereford, the site of a Roman camp, received its name from him.

Proxima pars Britanniae.—*i. e.* With reference to the place where Tacitus was writing. How much of the southern part of the island is included in this cannot be determined.

Addita .. colonia. — At Camalodunum (Colchester), the residence of Cynobellinus. *Camalodunum* means the city of Mars (*Camalus,* amongst the Britons, answering to Mars). It was called *Colonia victrix,* and was chosen for the station of the fourteenth legion (*legio gemina Martia victrix*). Compare *Annal.* xii. 32.

Quaedam .. donatae. — "Were presented to King Cogidunus." Cogidunus is not mentioned elsewhere: he was perhaps a vassal of the sons of Cynobellinus.

Vetere .. reges. — "According to the ancient and long-established custom of the Roman people, to have even kings as the instruments of slavery." Compare, *Pop. Rom. regum viribus reges oppugnare. Attalo adjutore patrem suum oppressum. Eumene adjuvante Antiochum superatum* (*Liv.* xliv. 24).

Mox Didius Gallus .. promotis. — See *Annal.* xii. 40. xiv. 29. The British insurrection under Boadicea happened in A. U. C. 814. and Suetonius's arrival in 812. Veranius was legatus for somewhat less than a year, in 811. Accordingly, Didius held the command during the years 804—810.

In ulteriora. — Apparently in the territory of the Silures.

Fama aucti officii. — "The credit of having extended the bounds of his administration." *Officium* is used in the same sense by Caesar. *Toti tamen officio maritimo Bibulus praepositus* (*B. G.* iii. 5). *Si quid uxores eorum, qui ad officia profiscuntur, deliquerunt* (*Dig. de Off. Proc.* 4).

Veranius. — See *Annal.* ii. 56. 74. iii. 10. 13. 17. 19. xii. 5. *Quem consulem vidimus.*

Suetonius hinc Paulinus .. subactis nationibus. — "In the subjection of tribes," not "after the rebellious tribes had been subdued." The past participle has a similar force in *Annal.* xvi. 21, *Nero virtutem ipsam exscindere concupivit, interfecto Thrasea Paeto*, equivalent to *interficiendo Thrasea Paeto*, "Nero wished to destroy virtue itself, by killing Paetus." *Cremutius Cordus postulatur novo ac tum primum audito crimine, quod editis annalibus, laudatoque M. Bruto Caium Cassium Romanorum ultimum dixisset* (*Annal.* iv. 34).

Monam .. adgressus. — See *Annal.* xiv. 29. *Vires*, "forces." A trace of the name, *Mona*, still remains in that of the *Menai* strait.

Occasioni patefecit. — "Laid open to a surprise."

CHAP. XV. — *Interpretando.* — "By commenting upon them."

Ex facili. — See *Ovid. Amor.* ii. 2. 55. This expression has been formed after the model of such phrases as *Ex inopinato*, *Ex insperato*, *Ex abundanti* (*Quint. Inst. Or.* iv. 5. 15); *Ex affluenti* (*Hist.* i. 57); *Nullam non duritiem ex facili cavantes* (*Plin. Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 4). The same idiom occurs in Greek: Ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος (*Herod.* iii. 150). Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδοκήτου (*Thuc.* vi. 47). Ἐξ ἀέλπτων. (*Soph. Aj.* 715. *Br.*)

Singulos. — "That formerly there was only one king for each nation." *Singulos*, one for each nation; not merely one king, that would be *unum regem.*

Aeque .. aeque. — So, *Pariter .. pariter.* *Et pariter Phoebus, pariter maris ira recessit* (*Ovid. Met.* xii. 36). *Cantantis pariter, pariter data pensa trahentis Fallitur ancillae, decipiturque labor* (*Trist.* IV. i. 13). Ὁμοίως .. ὁμοίως, are used in the same manner. See *Plato Sympos.* p. 181. c. *Xen. Hier.* 10. § 5. The use of *atque* in such phrases as *aliud atque* arose from the omission of one *aliud* which occurred in the fuller and original form of the expression, *aliud hoc atque aliud illud.*

Alterius .. miscere. — i. e. *Alterius* (procuratoris) *manus* (the servants and other attendants of the procurator), *centuriones alterius* (legati), *vim et contumelias miscere.*

Tamquam .. nescientibus. — "As if the only thing they knew not was how to die for their native land."

Quantum enim transisse. — The infinitive is the more usual construction in sentences of this kind; as, *Quantum .. profici* (*Hist.* iii. 70);

Quid dicturos (iii. 13): but the subjunctive may be used; as, *Cur .. petisset* (*Hist.* iii. 70).

Sic Germanias excussisse jugum. — By the slaughter of Varus and his legions. *Germanias*, see Notes on the Germania, *c.* 1.

Et flumine.—Et, "and yet." *Nomina partium urbis, et instar urbium sunt* (*Liv.* xxv. 25). *Montes effuso cursu Sabini petebant, et pauci tenuere* (i. 37). So, *nec* for *nec tamen* (*c.* 8).

Divus Julius. — This expression seems rather strange in the mouth of a barbarian; but the Roman writers were not so scrupulously exact in such matters as modern criticism requires.

CHAP. XVI. — *Boudicea.* — This name is variously spelt, *Boudicea*, *Boodicea*, or *Boadicea*.

Sumpsere .. bellum. — So, *Annal.* ii. 45. *Proelium sumpsere* (*Hist.* ii. 42). Πόλεμον ἤρξαντο (*Thuc.* iii. 39).

In barbaris. — "Rage and conquest forgot no kind of cruelty *practised by barbarians*," or, "*usual among barbarians.*"

Tenentibus arma plerisque. — "Although many (see *c.* 1) still remained in arms."

Propius .. agitabat. — "Affected them more nearly."

Missus Petronius Turpilianus. — In the year 815. See *Annal.* xiv. 29. 39. xv. 72. He was put to death by Galba. *Hist.* i. 6. 37. From this time forward, Britain, as far as Anglesey, may be considered as under the Roman dominion.

Delictis .. novus. — So, *Novus dolori* (*Silius* vi. 254). *Firmus adversis* (*Agr.* 35).

Compositis prioribus. — "After the former disturbances had been allayed."

Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit. — When is uncertain: probably in A. D. 64. Trebellius's flight took place in A. D. 69. *Hist.* i. 60. ii. 55.

Nullis .. experimentis. — For *nulla experientia.* *Novus nemo tam clarus, neque tam egregiis factis erat* (*Sall. Jug.* 63). *Cluvius, vir facundus, et pacis artibus, belli inexpertus* (*Hist.* i. 8).

Comitate quadam curandi. — *Curare* is not unfrequently used by Sallust and Tacitus, in the sense of "governing," or "administering," "commanding." *Is in ea parte curabat* (*Sall. Jug.* 60). *Qui proconsul Asiam curaverat* (*Annal.* iv. 36).

Vitiis blandientibus. — "Through the seductive charms of luxury."

Ut primum positis nugari Graecia bellis Coepit, et in vitium fortuna labier aequa (*Hor. Ep.* II. i. 93).

Interventus .. excusationem.—That the empire might not be harassed by foreign wars at the same time that it was torn by intestine convulsions.

Discordia laboratum.—"Danger was incurred by mutiny." *Labor* is used in this sense. *Quem labor assiduus vicino terreat hoste* (*Tibull.* i. 1. 3). Πόνος and πονεῖν are used in a similar manner in Greek.

Precario — See *Germ.* 44, note on *Precario jure parendi.*

Praefuit — Sc. *Exercitui.*

Ac velut .. salutem. — "And they, as it were, stipulated, the army for unbridled freedom, the general for safety."

Haec seditio. — There seems no necessity for *haec* in this emphatic position. Walch conjectures *hoc.*

Stetit. — *Majore damno plurium urbium excidiis, veteres civium discordias stetisse* (*Hist.* iii. 53).

Vettius Bolanus. — See *c.* 8. He arrived in Britain between April and May, A. D. 69. During his administration the circumstances happened which are recounted by Tacitus, in *Hist.* iii. 45.

Eadem inertia. — Statius then must be charged with flattery in addressing Crispinus, the son of Bolanus. (*Silv.* v. 2. 53, foll. 142, foll.)

Nullis delictis invisus, — "Hated for no crimes." *Trecenti opibus aut sapientia delecti* (*Annal.* vi. 42).

CHAP. XVII.—*Petilius Cerialis.*—See *c.* 8. *Annal.* xiv. 32. The Brigantes inhabited the counties of York, Westmoreland, Durham, and Lancaster.

Victoria amplecti. — "To subdue ;" *bello amplecti,* "to overrun."

Et cum Cerialis .. obruisset. — "Although Cerialis indeed might have obscured the fame of another successor, yet Frontinus also sustained the burthen"—discharged with ability the duties of his office. *Alter,* although it is commonly synonymous with ἕτερος, sometimes stands for ἕτερός τις, and is even equivalent to ἄλλος occasionally. *Consiliis ductuque alterius* (*c.* 5). *Tamquam apud alterius civitatis senatum* (*Hist.* ii. 90). *Obruisset* here merely expresses possibility ; as *Obtinuisset* (*Annal.* i. 19). *Absterruisset* (xii. 45). The reason why Tacitus expressed himself on this occasion so cautiously may, probably, be owing to the fact, that Frontinus was still alive. In *Hist.* iv. 71. v. 21, he uses greater freedom.

Quantum licebat.—*i. e.* "As far as was permitted him by the times in which he lived, when to appear eminent was dangerous:" and it was dangerous, especially for the governor of so important a province, even in the time of Vespasian. Frontinus lived till A. D. 106, and was an augur at the time of his death. He was the author of a work upon the art of war (*Stratagematica*), and also upon the aqueducts of Rome, the superintendence of which was entrusted to him during the reigns of Nerva and Trajan.

Validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem. — Since the victories of Suetonius Paulinus, from about A. D. 62 to 75, we hear nothing of the struggles with the Silures. But that the subjection of these wild mountain tribes had not yet been accomplished, is shown not only by Frontinus's expedition, but by Agricola's enterprise against Mona.

CHAP. XVIII. — *Media jam aestate.* — In the year 78.

Verterentur — Has here the sense of the middle voice. "The soldiers addressing themselves to enjoyments free from care, the enemy to the seizure of the opportunity thus offered them."

The *Ordovices* inhabited the counties of Flint, Denbigh, Caernarvon, Merioneth, and Montgomery.

Alam in finibus .. agentem. — The *ala* was the body of cavalry belonging to the legion. *Agentem* marks that there was a fixed camp. The period between the departure of Frontinus and the arrival of Agricola, when the island was without a governor, probably afforded the opportunity for this occurrence.

Eoque initio .. opperiri — The inhabitants of the province being thrown into a state of anxious suspense by this beginning, inasmuch as a war was what they wished for, either approved of the example, or withheld their determination, till they knew the feelings of the new governor; *i. e.* some did the one, and some the other. *Ut qui* generally, and always by Livy, is joined with the subjunctive mood; but sometimes with the indicative. *Germ.* 17. Bentley on *Hor. Serm.* I. iv. 110.

Bellum volentibus erat. — Tacitus has here imitated a Greek construction; Demosthenes, in the same way, Τῆς δὲ πομπείας ταύτης τῆς ἀναίδην οὑτωσὶ γιγνομένης ὕστερον, ἂν βουλομένοις ᾖ τούτοις ἀκούειν, μνησθήσομαι (*De Cor.* 5). Τῷ γὰρ πλήθει τῶν Πλαταιέων οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀφίστασθαι (*Thuc.* ii. 3). Compare, *Neque plebi militia volenti putabatur* (*Sall. Jug.* c. 84). *Uti militibus exaequatus cum*

imperatore labos volentibus esset (*c.* 100). *Quibusdam volentibus novas res fore* (Liv. xxi. 50). See *Hist.* iii. 43. Allen's note on Sallust *Jug. c.* 84.

Tarda . . incohaturo — Must be taken as a parenthesis, independent of *quamquam.* "Circumstances which delay and thwart one who purposes to commence war."

Custodiri . . videbatur, for *custodienda videbantur.* — So, *Cum fessos hieme atque inopia hostes adgredi in aperto foret* (*Hist.* iii. 56), for *adgrediendos esse. Videri* is not unfrequently joined with the accusative and infinitive mood.

Contractisque legionum vexillis. — Various opinions have been entertained with regard to these *vexilla*, but the following appears to be the best supported. *Vexillum* is a diminutive formed from *velum*, like *axilla* from *ala*, *maxilla* from *mala.* It has a double signification. 1) It is pretty nearly synonymous with *signum*, and is sometimes interchanged with this word, but properly is distinguished from the standard of the legions (the eagle) and that of the manipules (a bundle of hay, which in early times served for a standard). It means the flag which was the standard, α) of the cavalry and the auxiliary troops—*Vexilla se suorum parmasque cernere equitum* (*Liv.* viii. 39) ; *Undecim vexilla socium Latini nominis* (xxxix. 20) : β) of those who were picked out from the larger body of soldiers, or for some reason or other arranged in troops by themselves, and sent anywhere (accordingly the fresh recruits might have a vexillum, just as much as the veterans), either in cohorts, maniples, or squadrons —*Totidem circa e legionibus aliis vexilla* (*Hist.* ii. 89) ; Compare *Hist.* i. 36. ii. 18. iii. 63. iv. 15. 34. The *vexillum* spoken of in *Annal.* i. 39 is the signal for giving battle, the purple flag, which was kept in the tent of the general, who alone had the right to hang it out. *Vexillum proponendum, quod erat insigne cum ad arma concurri oporteret* (*Caes. B. G.* ii. 20). *Hoc nuntio* (*Pompeium in acie stetisse*) *adlato, vexillum proposuit* (*Bell. Hisp.* 28). *Varro, nihil consulto collega, signum pugnae proposuit* (*Liv.* xxii. 46). *Vexillo sublato quo pugnandi dabat signum* (*Hirt. B. Alex.* 45). Τὸ τῆς μάχης σημεῖον ἐξέθηκεν. ἔστι δὲ χιτὼν κόκκινος ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατηγικῆς σκηνῆς διατεινόμενος (*Plut. Fab.* 15). Προύκειτο σύμβολον ἀγῶνος, φοινικοῦς χιτών (*Brut.* 40). This is the vexillum which the infuriated soldiers demanded that they might be authorised in committing slaughter and wearing arms. *Vexilla* are also classed amongst military gifts by Sallust (*Jug.* 85). *Ostentare hastas, vexillum, phaleras, alia militaria dona.* 2) The

term denotes the soldiers themselves who served beneath this flag (as was the case likewise with *signum*—*E suo signo periisse* xxxv. (*Bell. Hisp.* 18), and not merely veterans, but also the raw recruits, the auxiliaries, the cavalry, and generally those who were separated from the rest, but arranged in a body by themselves, and sent anywhere. *Complures erant in castris ex legionibus aegri relicti, ex quibus qui hoc spatio dierum convaluerant, circiter trecenti sub vexillo uno mittuntur* (*Caes. B. G.* vi. 36). Speaking of the same (c. 40), *Quos sub vexillo una profectos docuimus. Vexillum centum octoginta sex homines erant* (*Liv.* viii. 8). *Vexillum veteranorum* (*Annal.* iii. 21). *Germanica vexilla diu nutavere* (i. e. the *vexillarii*, the veterans who had served in Germany,) (*Hist.* i. 31). *Contractis legionum vexillis* (*Agr.* 18). *Vexilla legionum e superiori provincia* (*Annal.* iv. 73). *Tertiae decimae legionis vexillum* (*Hist.* ii. 24). *Quartam Macedonicam dextro suorum cornu, quintam et quintam decimam cum vexillis nonae secundaeque et vicesimae Britannicarum legionum mediam aciem .. complesse* (iii. 22). (So that each legion had its *vexillum* attached to it, composed of veterans, who were called vexillarii *par excellence.*) *Vexillum tironum* (*Annal.* ii. 78). *Equitum vexilla* (*Hist.* ii. 11). *Praemissis Gallorum, Lusitanorum, Britannorumque cohortibus et Germanorum vexillis* (i. 70). *Vexilla inferioris Germaniae* (c. 53). *Vexilla delectorum ex Illyrico et Aegypto* (*Annal.* xv. 26).

The term *vexillarius*, then, is applied — 1) To the standard bearer. *Ut vexillarium fugientem hasta transverberaret, mox raptum vexillum in hostem vertit* (*Hist.* iii. 17). *Vexillarius comitatae Galbam cohortis* (i. 41); and this is the only signification of the word, which prevails among the older writers. *Ordo sexagenos milites, duos centuriones, vexillarium unum habebat* (*Liv.* viii. 8). 2) To the soldiers serving under the vexillum (first by *Vell.* ii. 110). But we are not to suppose that it was applied indiscriminately to legionary troops, veterans, recruits, auxiliaries, and cavalry. Nor does this necessarily follow from what has been said respecting the *vexillum*; for in matters of this kind custom is the only rule, and through its decree the term has been restricted to a particular kind of soldiers. On comparing all the passages where the *vexillarii* and *vexilla legionum* are mentioned, it will be found that we are to understand by these terms those veterans who, since the time of Augustus, after serving sixteen campaigns, were released from their military oath, but were retained till their complete discharge under a flag by themselves, free from all other military duties,

to render their assistance in the more severe battles, guard the frontiers of the empire, and keep in subjection provinces that had been newly conquered, and were therefore more disposed to revolt. *Exauctorari qui senadena fecissent, ac retineri sub vexillo, ceterorum inmunes nisi propulsandi hostis* (*Annal.* i. 36). *Ne veterani sub vexillo haberentur* (i. 26). *Apud vexillum retenti* (c. 17). *Oppressi cives Romani, trucidati negotiatores, magnus vexillariorum numerus ad internecionem caesus* (*Vell.* ii. 110). *Vexillarii discordium legionum* (*Annal.* i. 38). *Duae ibi legiones prima atque vicesima, veteranique nuper missi sub vexillo* (those who are mentioned in the former passage belonged, perhaps, to the same legions, but had been released from their military oath for a longer period), *hiemabant* (c. 39). *Quartadecima legio cum vexillariis vicesimanis* (xiv. 34). *Ut vexillarios e legionibus ducemque Virdium Geminum, spectatae militiae deligerent* (*Hist.* iii. 48). *Legio sexta et tredecim vexillariorum milia* (of course belonging to several legions,) (ii. 83). These passages, compared with those quoted above respecting the vexilla of the legions, sufficiently prove that there were vexillarii attached to each legion ; and Tacitus (*Annal.* iii. 21) seems to show that they amounted in number to five hundred : *Vexillum veteranorum non amplius quingenti numero.* But when there was any necessity they were detached from their legions and sometimes those belonging to several legions seem to have been united in one body. It appears that when they were engaged in the legions they were mixed up with the different cohorts of these (*Antonio, vexillarios e cohortibus et partem equitum ad invadendam Italiam rapienti, comes fuit Arrius Varus. Hist.* iii. 6), and that *vexillarii* were attached to the praetorian cohorts also, and were called *veterani.* *Veterani e praetorio* (*Hist.* ii. 11). *Praetorianos nuper exauctoratos* (c. 96). *Praetorianum vexillum* (iii. 21). The *subsignani milites*, at least in Tacitus, may be looked upon as the same with the *vexillarii. Hist.* i. 70. iv. 33. In Livy the *triarii* are said to be *sub signis ;* the hastati and principes are called *antesignani ; quia sub signis jam alii quindecim ordines locabantur.—Primum vexillum* (vexillum and signum, therefore, mean the same) *triarios ducebat, veteranum militem, spectatae virtutis,—triarii sub vexillis considebant* (viii. 8). From this we perceive a close analogy between the old *triarii* and the *vexillarii*, or *subsignani*, of the age of Tacitus ; but we must beware of supposing that the *vexillarii* resembled the *triarii.* Besides Tacitus, Ammianus only uses the term *subsignanus.* The *electi*, or *delecti*, who are not unfrequently mentioned by Tacitus,

must not be confounded with the *vexillarii*: the former were composed of those who had not yet been released from the military oath, whether legionary soldiers, or auxiliaries. The distinction is seen in, *Cum vexillariis trium Britannicarum legionum, et electis auxiliis* (*Hist.* ii. 100). *Vexilla legionum et equitum auxiliarium delectos accivit* (*Annal.* iv. 73).

In aequum — "Into the plain."

Erexit. — "Led toward the mountains." *Liv.* i. 27. iii. 18.

Ipse .. esset. — So, *Dein remotis omnium equis quo militibus aequato periculo animus amplior esset, ipse pedes exercitum pro loco et copiis instruit* (*Sall. Cat.* 59).

Instandum famae. — "That renown must be followed up."

Cessissent, for *processissent.* — So, *Prout cuique cesserant* (*Cels.* iii. 1). Χωρεῖν, for προχωρεῖν, is used by Herodotus. Εὐπετέως δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα χωρέειν οἷά τέ ἐστι (v. 49). Again, ἐχώρησε (vii. 10).

Possessione revocatum. — Without *a*. So, *Exigunt liberalitate principis* (*Germ.* 14).

Dubiis consiliis. — By *dubia consilia*, Tacitus means plans, of which the issue is doubtful. The meaning appears to be, that Agricola had had some intention of invading Mona, previous to his campaign against the Ordovices: but as the result of that campaign was doubtful, he had not provided vessels; and he had not had time to do so after the conquest of the Ordovices, when he had fully determined to invade the island. Examples of the passive meaning of *dubius* frequently occur. *M. Antonii societatem semper dubiam et incertam abrupit tandem* (*Suet. Aug.* 17).

Depositis .. usus. — Some suppose these auxiliaries to have been Germans, especially Batavians. See *Hist.* v. 14. iv. 12. But we should rather take them to have been Britons; since the Batavians could not be acquainted with the shallows between Britain and Mona. Eighteen years before, Suetonius Paulinus had sent his cavalry across the straits in the same way (*Annal.* xiv. 29).

Qui classem .. exspectabant — By *mare* we must understand the difficulties which would be opposed to their progress by the sea.

Officiorum ambitum. — "Efforts to procure the homage and flattery of the inhabitants." *Antequam fines provinciae decretae sibi proconsul ingressus sit, edictum debet de adventu suo mittere, continens commendationem aliquam sui, si qua ei familiaritas sit cum provincialibus, vel conjunctio, et maxime excusantis ne publice vel privatim ei occurrant;*

esse enim congruens, ut unusquisque eum in sua patria exciperet (*Ulpian de Off. Proc. et Leg. in Digest.* i. *tit.* 16. s. iv. § 3).

Laureatis. — i. e. *Laureatis litteris.*

CHAP. XIX. — *Animorum provinciae prudens.* — "Being acquainted with the disposition of the province."

Domum .. coercuit. — *Domus* is used here in a wider sense than in *c.* 46, and means his suite and attendants.

Nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei—Sc. *agebat,* or *agere.* This omission of the verb *agere,* or *facere,* is not unfrequent. *Melius Augustum qui speraverit;* sc. *egisse* (*Annal.* iv. 38). *Melius et amantius ille qui ferrum mihi obtulit* (i. 43). *Ut igitur alia, sic hoc, C. Pansa, praeclare, quod hos cohortatus es* (*Cic. Phil.* ix. 1). *Nihil per senatum, multa et magna per populum* (*Phil.* i. 2).

Non studiis .. putare.—Tacitus is here speaking not of levying soldiers, but of the promotion of recruits to the honour of serving in the legion on the recommendation of the centurions. These words are illustrated by some fragments of Varro. *Tum appellatus est delectus, et ab electione Legio. Ad hoc supervacaneorum consuetudine adscribuntur* (i. e. *praeterea supervacanei aliquot consueto more adscribuntur*), *qui Adscriptivi sunt. Qui cum erant attributi decurionibus et centurionibus, qui haberent eorum numerum, Accensi vocabantur. Eosdem etiam quidam vocabant Ferentarios, qui depugnabant fundis et lapidibus, his armis quae ferrentur non quae tenerentur* (*ap. Nonium* v. *Legio*). *Referentibus centurionibus adoptati in cohortes subibant, ut semper plenae essent legiones; a quo Optiones in turmis decurionum et in cohortibus centurionum appellati* (*ap. Nonium* v. *Optiones*). The term *milites,* in its full force, belonged only to the legionary troops. The *tirones* thought much of the honour of serving in the legion, and frequently importuned the centurions for this promotion. *Ad has copias e classicis Ravennatibus legionariam militiam poscentibus optimus quisque asciti* (*Hist.* iii. 50). The prudence of Agricola accordingly provided against what occurred in after times. *Legionum nomen in exercitu permanet hodieque, sed per negligentiam superiorum temporum robur infractum est, cum virtutis praemia occuparet ambitio, et per gratiam promoverentur milites, qui promoveri consuerant per laborem* (*Veget.* iii. 3).

Optimus, for *fortissimus.*—As, *Optimus quisque cadere* (*Sall. Jug.* 98).

Omnia scire, non omnia exsequi. — *Exsequi,* in the sense of *ulcisci,* is found not only in writers of this age, but in Livy (iii. 25. v. 11).

Frumenti .. mollire. — *Frumentum:* "the supply of corn." *Frumentum emptum.* In *tributa*, Tacitus refers to poll-taxes and taxes upon property. These were increased, and in some cases doubled, by Vespasian (*Suet. Vesp.* 16). *Munus* is the portion which each had to contribute.

Æqualitate munerum mollire. — *i. e.* Agricola took care that all the inhabitants should be rated fairly, according to their property; that the poor might not have to contribute more than the rich.

Circumcisis .. tolerabantur. — Putting an end to all those devices for enriching themselves, which had been practised by the officers, and were esteemed heavier burthens than the tribute itself.

Namque per ludibrium .. cogebantur. — From the provinces, at least during the times of the republic, and from Sicily, the Romans procured corn in three different ways; by means of the *frumentum decumanum*, *emptum*, and *aestimatum*. (See *Cic. Verr. Act.* ii. *lib.* iii. 6—98.) The *frumentum decumanum* was the tenth part of the produce of the *ager publicus* or *decumanus.* It was exacted from the cultivators without payment (Asconius on *Cic. Verr.* p. 29), and had to be carried down to the sea (*Cic. Verr.* iii. 14); but was generally purchased or contracted for by the revenue farmers, who were thence called *decumani*, and who either sent it to Rome, or sold it in the provinces. The *emptum frumentum* was corn which was furnished in compliance with the orders of the proconsul, to supply the wants of the armies, or of the capital, and for which a fixed price was paid, at first from the public treasury, afterwards from that of the emperor. If one tithe was not sufficient, he could demand a second (*decumanum alterum, decumas alteras*); and if still more was required, a third (*frumentum imperatum*), which each state had to contribute in proportionate quantities, and for which a higher price was paid than for the *decumanum alterum* (*Cic. Verr.* ii. 3. 16. 70); for the former, HS. IV. for each modius; for the latter, HS. III. When the governor of the province was in league with the decumani, by such edicts as those mentioned by Cicero (*Verr.* ii. 3. 13, 14. *Quantum decumanus ediderit, sibi dari oportere, id ab aratore magistratus Siculus exigat.—Ne quis frumentum de area tolleret, antequam cum decumano pactus esset*), the decumani got all the corn in the country into their power, as in the case of the Britons, who were compelled to purchase it back from the Romans at a high price both for their own consumption, and in order to furnish the *emptum frumentum*, for which they were

paid only the small fixed price. Compare *Nam ut illud missum faciam .. decumani fuisse? (Cic. Verr.* ii. 3. 77.) *Reperio genus hujusmodi .. quod a Pop. Rom. accepisset tenuere* (c. 73).

Devortia .. deferrent. — Here Tacitus refers to the *frumentum aestimatum*, as it was called. The provincial magistrates had money given them from the treasury, or from the emperor's purse, for the purpose of buying corn for their own use, at a valuation fixed by the senate, (HS. IV. for a modius of wheat, HS. II. for one of barley), which was to be carried to whatever place they chose. They might either exact the corn, or a certain sum for that and for the expense of its conveyance. *Licebat magistratibus in usus suos frumenta accipere, si vellent, aut pro frumento pretium: quae aestimatio dicebatur. Quae aestimatio nata est ex aratoris commodo aut civitatis cui imperabatur: nam quum aut frumentum vendidisset, aut servare vellet, aut in eum locum quo imperabatur, portare nollet, petivit in beneficii loco et gratiae, ut sibi pro frumento, quanti frumentum esset, dare liceret. Sed avari magistratus instituerunt semper ad ultima ac difficillima loca et ad angulum aliquem reconditum ac derelictum, quo portare non expediat et ubi arator emere non possit, apportandum frumentum imperare, ut vecturae difficultate ad quam vellent aestimationem pervenirent (Asc. in Verr.* 29). *Cic. Verr.* ii. 3. 82. 84. That frauds of this kind were practised down to the latest period, under the emperors, is seen from a prohibition of Valerian's upon the subject.

Quod omnibus in promptu erat.—What offered itself in abundance to all.

CHAP. XX. — *Paci .. famam circumdedit.* — So, Περιτιθέναι τινὶ ἀτιμίαν (*Thuc.* vi. 89). Αἰσχύναις τὴν πόλιν περιβαλεῖν (*Isocr. Archid.*).

Quae (i. e. *pax*) .. *timebatur.* — Since they were spoiled and oppressed in peace, just as much as in war.

Sed, ubi .. exercitu. — During this summer, Agricola appears to have penetrated to the Solway Frith. That he did not proceed further, appears from the following chapters. In c. 22, the expression, *Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit*, would hardly have been used if he had already penetrated as far as Edinburgh, as some imagine, in the second summer. It was the western portion of the Brigantes whom he now subdued; accordingly, the conquests of Cerialis lay in the eastern portion of their country. They were only partially subdued

by the latter (*c.* 17); and his successor, Frontinus, seems not to have completed his undertakings.

Militum. — Some editions have *multum.* So, *Nisi frequens . . jussisset.* (*c.* 37). *Multus ac ferox instare* (*Sall. Jug.* 84).

Disjectos coercere. — As Thucydides (vii. 78) says: — Εἴ πῃ ὁρῴη διεσπασμένον καὶ μὴ ἐν τάξει χωροῦν, ξυνάγων καὶ καθιστὰς, κ. τ. λ.

Loca castris ipse capere. — Many traces of these still remain: two, in particular, situated in Annandale, called Burnswork and Middleby, are described by Gordon (*Itin. Sept.* pp. 16. 18).

Aestuaria. — The Dee, Ribble, Liverpool, and Solway Frith.

Et nihil . . popularetur. — i. e. *Interim Agricola nullam apud hostes quietem patiebatur, quam non interrumperet, e locis munitis subito populando.* The construction of this and the following clause shows that Agricola is the subject of *popularetur;* and *subitis excursibus* implies that there were towns or entrenchments at hand from which these sallies were made. *Germanicum vix cohibuere amici, quo minus eodem mari mortem oppeteret* (*Annal.* ii. 24).

Inritamenta pacis, — So, *Irritare infantiam ad discendum* (*Quint. Inst. Orat.* I. i. 26). *Irritare virtutem animi* (*Lucret.* i. 71). *Irritamenta gulae* (*Hist.* ii. 62).

Ex aequo. — "On equal terms." So, *Ex aequo agetis* (*Hist.* iv. 64). *Pacem ex aequo utilem* (*Annal.* xv. 13). Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ἡγοῦντο (*Thuc.* iii. 10). Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὁμιλοῦντος (iii. 11). *Ex aequo* being a somewhat general expression, must, of course, derive its particular shade of meaning from the context. Here it implies that they had maintained their ground, and preserved their liberty, against the encroachments of the Romans.

Quibus rebus . . transierit. — As the text stands here, the sentence cannot be translated so as to make any tolerable sense. Some alteration is necessary. The object in erecting these chains of forts was sometimes to keep conquered tribes in subjection; at other times, to reduce such as had not yet submitted, by continually harassing them with attacks. The latter, of course, was only resorted to when the enemy, not being sufficiently strong to meet the Romans openly in the field, retired to their fastnesses, and thence made occasional sallies to distress the Romans. Judging, too, what was likely to be the course pursued by the weaker tribes, especially when surrounded by a line of forts, after the more powerful had made terms with the Romans, Walch supposes that something of the following kind was what Taci-

tus meant to say :—" In consequence of the vigorous, but at the same time mild conduct of Agricola, many tribes who had hitherto maintained a successful resistance against the Romans, laid aside their arms and became their allies, giving hostages for their fidelity; the weaker tribes, who had been hemmed in by Agricola, did not wait till the Romans had commenced active operations against them, but voluntarily came over to them." To accommodate the text to this interpretation, he proposes to read:—*Quibus rebus multae civitates, quae ad illum diem ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus, iram posuere; quae praesidiis castellisque circumdatae (tanta ratione* ET *cura,* QUANTA *nulla ante nova Britanniae pars),* ILLACESSITAE TRANSIERUNT. He maintains that we manifestly want the opposition between the two members of the sentence to be marked in some way. Omitting the *et* before *praesidiis*, or altering it to *at*, would leave some ambiguity; the substitution of *vel*, or *aut*, would produce a harshness. The relative *quae*, he thinks, removes all these difficulties. The omission of the verb substantive after the relative is common with Tacitus. See, for instance, *Quae tum Romana copia in armis, qui socii reges (Annal.* iv. 4). *Quodque alarum cohortiumque* (xv. 26). But, independent of the violent changes which Walch makes in the text, his interpretation is open to this great objection,—that if according to his reading, *quae praesidiis castellisque* refers to the weaker states, and is thus used in opposition to the states—*quae ad illum diem ex aequo egerant*—it would be necessary that there should be some clause after the second *quae*, which would inform us that the *quae* referred to the weaker states, since there is nothing in Walch's correction to warrant us in supplying this meaning. Many other corrections have been proposed; but none are satisfactory. Susius proposed that a full stop should be put after *pars;* and that the remaining words should be connected with the following chapter, *transierit* being changed into *transiit.* Thus, *Ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars. Inlacessita transiit sequens hiems,* &c. Moebius proposed:—*Et praesidiis castellisque circumdatae,* (et quidem) *tanta ratione curaque ut nulla ante. Britanniae nova pars inlacessita. Tansiit sequens hiems,* &c.

CHAP. XXI.—*Sequens hiems.*—A. D. 79-80.

Bello faciles.—" Prone to war." So, *Juvenis improvidus et facilis inanibus (Annal.* ii. 27).

Ut templa, fora, domus exstruerent.—Julius's hoff, or house, the home of Julius Agricola, and Arthur's Oven, in Stirling, near the mouth of the Carron, are said to have been built under the direction of Agricola. As we soon afterwards find Eboracum an important city, the residence of the British governor, and sometimes of the emperor himself, it is not unlikely that Agricola founded this city about this time in the country of the Brigantes, to promote the civilisation of this wild tribe.

Jam vero .. artibus erudire. — The same line of policy was pursued by Augustus (*Suet. Aug.* 48), and by other Roman emperors. *Annal.* ii. 2. xi. 16. xii. 10. Perhaps Agricola established schools, as Caligula did in Gaul and Belgium.

Ingenia .. anteferre. — "He used to give the preference to the natural talents of the Britons, rather than to the laborious efforts exerted by the Gauls." Some suppose *anteferre* here means *to cause to excel.* Gauls frequently found their way to Britain, and ingratiated themselves with the princes of the country, to the exclusion of the more talented but less cultivated natives.

Ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant. — *viz.* In their communications with the governor, and in judicial proceedings. "So that those, who lately refused to make use of the Roman language, began to desire its eloquence."

Delinimenta. — "Enchanting allurements."

CHAP. XXII. — *Tertius .. annus.* — A. D. 80.

Novas gentes. — Those between the Solway Frith and the Frith of Tay, in Annandale, Clydesdale, Tweeddale, Berwick, Lothian, Stirling, Menteith, Perth, and Fife, through which ran a Roman road.

Usque ad Taum. — Not the Tweed, which does not form an estuary, but the Tay. Cerialis had before penetrated to the Tweed.

Conflictatum. — So, *Tempestate conflictatus* (*Suet. Aug.* 17).

Castellis.—The remains of some of these are still to be seen between Ardoch and Innerpeffery.

Seu centurio seu praefectus. — i. e. *Seu centurio seu praefectus esset.* So, *Si severus .. si misericors* (*Cic. Phil.* ii. 23).

CHAP. XXIII. — *Quarta aestas.* — A. D. 81.

Obtinendis. — *Obtinere* is used in this passage in its common sig-

nification. Gronovius rightly remarks: — *Obtinere est perseverare in tenendo, quod Galli dicunt* maintenir. It is used in a different sense in *Percursando quae obtineri non poterant* (*Annal.* xv. 8).

Inventus. — i. e. *Inventus fuisset.*

Clota et Bodotria. — The Frith of Clyde and Frith of Forth.

Per inmensum revectae. — "Carried, or running back deep into the land." *Re* not unfrequently has this force in composition; as in *repostus*, placed far back; *reducta vallis* (*Hor. Ep.* ii. 11).

Atque omnis propior sinus (terrae) *tenebatur.* — The chain of forts across the isthmus was sufficient to prevent any irruption of the enemy by land; to check their attempts by sea, in which way the Picts made their incursions in later times, Agricola had fortresses built east and west in the adjacent region, which were united with the main chain. The work now called Graham's Dycke was erected by Lollius under the Antonines, but coincided with Agricola's line, which ran from Old Kirk-Patrick on the Frith of Clyde, to Abercorn on the Frith of Forth.

Submotis.. hostibus.—Bede (*Hist. Ang.* i. 12) says:—*Denique subito duabus gentibus transmarinis, vehementer saevis, Scotorum a Circio, Pictorum ab Aquilone, multos luget gemitque per annos. Transmarinas autem dicimus has gentes, non quod extra Britanniam essent positae, sed quia a parte Brittorum erant remotae; duobus sinibus maris interjacentibus, etc.*

CHAP. XXIV. — *Quinto anno.* — A. D. 82.

Nave prima transgressus.—For *Navibus primum transgressus. Oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur* (*Germ.* 2). *Primam domum suam coercuit* (*Agr.* 19). *Transgressus*, having crossed the Clota.

Eamque partem .. adspicit. — Carrick, Galloway, Wight; perhaps, too, Argyle, Arran, and Bute.

In spem ..formidinem — More because Agricola hoped at some future time to achieve the conquest of Ireland, than because he dreaded any interruption from that quarter.

Medio .. sita. — See *c.* 10.

Valentissimam .. partem.—*i. e.* Britannia, Gallia, and Hispania.

Siquidem Hibernia .. miscuerit. — Since Ireland might unite. In Greek we should have had ἂν with the optative.

Saepe ex eo audivi. — Some take *eo* to mean this petty king; and

accordingly conclude that Tacitus was at this time in Britain. But there can be little doubt that it refers to Agricola.

CHAP. XXV. — *Aestate qua sextum officii annum incohabat.* — A. D. 83.

Amplexus civitates. — i. e. *Civitates ad subigendum animo et cogitatione complexus.*

Infesta hostili exercitu itinera. — *Infesta* has a passive sense here. So, *Via barbarorum excursionibus infesta* (*Cic. de Prov. Cons.* 2).

Portus classe exploravit. — Agricola's plan was, apparently, that the fleet should support the army, which probably kept near the coast; and if the latter met with too powerful an opposition at any of the passes, should land troops in the rear of the enemy. The provinces which Tacitus means are, Fife, Perth, Angus, and Mar.

Cum .. bellum impelleretur. — *Pellere* is properly *to put in motion. Longi sermonis initium pellere* (*Cic. Brut.* 87). Comparing *Sive casus res humanas sine ordine impellit* (*Sen. Ep.* 16), and *Placidum aequor mille navium remis strepere aut velis impelli* (*Annal.* ii. 23), no difficulty need be raised at the expression, *impellere bellum.*

Victus oceanus. — So *Domitus oceanus* (*Suet. Claud.* 17). *Spolia oceani* (*Suet. Cal.* 46).

Paratu magno, majore fama.—This union of heterogeneous ablatives is not uncommon in Tacitus. Compare *Molares ingenti pondere et fragore provolvunt* (*Hist.*. ii. 22). *Protractum scissa veste, quo pretio, quibus consciis, prodidisset exercitum dicere jubent* (iv. 27). *Occidere solent, non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira* (*Germ.* 25).

Uti mos est de ignotis. — As is usually the case with reports spread concerning what is unknown. Walch thinks that *obpugnasse* depends upon *fama*; as if Tacitus had written, *Magisque id fama celebrante "en oppugnarunt Britanni ultro Romana castella."*

Castella. — Some forts in Fife, Perth, and Strathern, the remains of which still exist; manifestly, from what follows, not the line of fortifications between the Friths of Clyde and Forth.

Et excedendum potius quam pellerentur. — The alteration of *potius* to *prius* is unnecessary. *Utinam me divi adaxint ad suspendium, Potius quidem, quam hoc pacto apud te serviam* (*Plaut. Aul.* i. 1. 11). *Inopemque optavit potius eum relinquere, Quam eum thesaurum commonstraret filio* (*Aul. Prol.* 11). *Hortatusque conjuratos, qui aderant, ut*

potius quam extorti morerentur arma secum caperent (*Liv.* xxxiv. 25). *Quem admodum omnia sibi patienda esse ducant, potius quam se dedant Persi* (xliii. 9).

Specie prudentium ignavi. — *Specie bonarum artium fallaces* (*Annal.* xvi. 32).

CHAP. XXVI. — *Nonam legionem .. adgressi.* — Brotier, following Gordon (*It. Sept.* p. 32), places the scene of this occurrence in Fife, where the remains of a Roman camp are found at Lochore ; and in the neighbourhood is an extensive moor, where large trunks of trees are frequently dug up, proving that formerly an extensive forest existed there (*quod nisi paludes et silvae fugientes texissent debellatum illa victoria foret*). We must not suppose, however, that all the remains of Roman entrenchments in this part are to be referred to the time of Agricola ; many were built under the Antonines and Severus. Moreover, Agricola's expedition in the sixth summer must have embraced at least Fife, Perth, and Angus, especially as his incursion in the third year extended as far as the Tay. The attack upon Agricola's entrenchments towards the end of the summer, for it cannot be placed earlier, took place, as we may collect from the narrative, in Agricola's rear ; and there is no reason why we should not look for these entrenchments in Fife. It is well known how careful the Romans were, in an expedition into an unknown and hostile country, to secure the passes and cover their operations by forts ; and Agricola in all probability would pursue the same course. The Britons would naturally first seek to intercept the Romans ; and for the attack upon the fortifications, we cannot fix upon a more fitting place than Fife. Agricola had no sooner received the news of this attack, and the advice of his more timid friends to retire beyond the Bodotria, than the intelligence reached him that the enemy were pressing forwards in larger bodies, probably on his flank and in the front, that, with the division which fell upon the forts in his rear, they might surround his army ; which compelled him to divide his forces into three portions. But from this it appears to follow that the ninth legion, which the enemy, altering their plan, fell upon with their whole force, must have been posted farther northwards than Fife, in Angus, or perhaps Mar. To which we may add, that if Agricola had been in the district of Fife, which is hardly eight miles broad, he would probably have immediately sought the enemy at the entrenchments.

Propinqua luce. — At daybreak.

Securi pro salute, de gloria certabant. — Ernesti and modern editors have changed the reading in the text, which is that of the old editions and the Vatican MS. into *Securi de salute pro gloria certabant.* This is unnecessary. Compare, *Nunquam apud vos verba feci, aut pro vobis sollicitior, aut pro me securior* (*Hist.* iv. 58).

CHAP. XXVII. — *Cujus constantia ac fama.* — If this reading is correct, it must be interpreted by means of the figure called by grammarians ἓν διὰ δοῖν: and *constantia ac fama* must be looked upon as equivalent to *constans fama.* But in this passage the reading *conscientia ac fama* (conjectured by Lipsius) gives a much better sense.

Illi modo cauti ac sapientes. — See c. 25. *Regrediendumque.. admonebant.*

At Britanni .. remittere. — There is something corrupt in this sentence, and various corrections have been proposed ; as, *Arte ducis se victos rati ; non ut virtute, sed arte ducis superati ; non virtutem sed occasionem et artem ducis rati ; usos* for *ducis ; at B. non virtute* SE (sc. *superatos*) *sed occasione et arte ducis* ELUSOS *rati* (Walch).

CHAP. XXVIII. — *Cohors Usipiorum.* — See *Germ.* 32. The doubt which suggests itself as to the means by which the Romans could levy soldiers at this time among the Germans, when it was not till the reign of Trajan that the Roman power was re-established on the right bank of the Rhine, is removed by the fact, that many tribes in this part were, even at this time, dependent allies of the Romans. This cohort was most probably part of the forces stationed by Agricola in Cantire, Carrick, and Galloway. From Dion (lxvi. 20) it appears that the course of this circumnavigation was from west to east. Στρατιῶται γάρ τινες στασιάσαντες καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους χιλίαρχόν τε φονεύσαντες περιέπλευσαν τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν αὐτῆς, ὥς που τό τε κῦμα καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος αὐτοὺς ἔφερε.

Uno remigrante. — The present participles of intransitive verbs are frequently to be taken as if they were perfect participles. As, *Revertentem* (c. 2). *Descendens* (*Vell. Pat.* ii. 25). *Descendenti* (*Liv.* xxi. 32).

Nondum vulgato rumore (rebellionis ac fugae).— Sc. *Per littora vel inter incolas Britanniae.*

Ut miraculum praevehebantur. — The inhabitants of the islands and shores on the west of Britain, which the Usipii sailed by, were asto-

nished at the wonderful sight. *Praevehebantur* is equivalent to *praetervehebantur.* So, *praevehitur* (*Annal.* ii. 6).

Mox hac atque illa rapti. — Ὡς που τό τι κῦμα καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος αὐτοὺς ἔφερε (*Dio* lxvi. 20).

Sua defensantium. — So, *Ad sua tutanda digressis rebellibus* (*Annal.* iv. 73).

Atque ita circumvecti Britanniam — Dion mentions that they nearly lighted upon the Roman camp. Καὶ ἔλαθον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα πρὸς τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ ταύτῃ ὄντα προσσχόντες.

Amissis .. intercepti sunt. — It is possible, though not necessary, to suppose that these Usipii were forced by stress of weather into the Baltic sea. The name *Suevi* was borne by many tribes (*Germ.* 38), and there is no reason why we may not suppose that it was the appellation of some of those (*Germ.* 40) which we find in the region afterwards possessed by the Saxons and Angles. It is difficult to determine how, after being intercepted by the Suevi, the Usipii fell into the hands of the Frisii. We must suppose that, either when attempting to reach their native country by land, or endeavouring to work their way round on the wrecks of their vessels, they were intercepted by some Suevi, and these in turn captured by some Frisian pirates. That piracy in these quarters was of very ancient origin, is proved by the example of Gannascus (*Annal.* xi. 18).

In nostram .. ripam. — The left bank of the Rhine.

CHAP. XXIX. — *Initio aestatis.* — This is the commencement of a new summer, A. D. 84. The expression, *Eadem aestate* (c. 28), shows that Tacitus had finished his regular account of Agricola's proceedings during the preceding year, and that the narrative of the adventures of the Usipii is to be looked upon as a kind of supplement. Some editors, however, supply *septimae*, which, when abbreviated into VII might be absorbed by the letters VIT at the close of the last Chapter.

Non ambitiose tulit. — He did not affect a stoical indifference in order to excite the admiration of others.

Ad montem Grampiam pervenit. — In the ancient Scottish tongue, this ridge was called *Grantzbain*, now the Grampian hills. It runs from Dumbarton to Aberdeenshire. In Strathern, about half a mile south of the Kirk of Comerie, is a valley nearly a mile broad, and some miles long, through which the Erne and Ruchel flow. Here are

the remains of two Roman camps, with a double wall and trench, one large enough to contain the eight thousand men which Agricola led to battle, the other smaller, suited for the three thousand cavalry. Two miles south-east is a third camp, in which two legions might be conveniently quartered. They were, perhaps, posted here by Agricola, that he might keep up a communication with the fleet. The place itself still bears the name of *Galgachan Rossmoor*, taken from that of the Caledonian leader.

Et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus. — *Sed cruda deo viridisque senectus* (*Virg. Aen.* vi. 304). So in Greek, ὠμὸν γῆρας : ὠμογέρων.

Decora. — The trophies won from enemies. Diodorus (v. 29), speaking of the Gauls, says: — Τὰ σκῦλα τοῖς θεράπουσι παραδόντες ἡμαγμένα λαφυραγωγοῦσι, ἐπιπαιανίζοντες καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ταῦτα ταῖς οἰκίαις προσηλοῦσιν.

CHAP. XXX. — *Magnus mihi animus est.* — *Amplior animus est* (*Sallust Cat.* 40).

Universi. — We must understand *nos* before *universi.* So, *Annibal peto pacem* (*Liv.* xxx. 29). *Achaei arma Romana sustinebimus* (xxxii. 21).

Priores pugnae .. habebant. — In ordinary prose this would be, *Priorum pugnarum spes sita est in nostris manibus.*

Quia nobilissimi .. siti. — The same idea is expressed by Homer. Κειμήλια ἐν τοῖς μυχοῖς κείμενα. *Intima sacraria* (*Cic. Verr.* iv. 45). The Caledonians looked upon themselves as an indigenous race, and therefore styled themselves the noblest. *Interior pars ab iis colitur quos natos in insula ipsa memoriae proditur* (*Caes. B. G.* v. 12).

Nos, terrarum .. extremos. — That is, we dwell at the extremity of the world, and are the last people who have preserved their liberty.

Sinus famae .. defendit. — These words have occasioned considerable difficulty. Lipsius understands *sinus famae*, to mean that the Caledonians were scarcely known to fame,—that they were *in sinu famae conditi.* Gronovius adopts the same interpretation, and explains *sinus* as. *pars secreta et locus maxime remotus* Bötticher, referring to Walch's note, which is too long for translation, explains these words by, *Est quasi ultimum famae bellicae refugium, quae antea late evagata metum Romanis injecerat.*

Sed nulla jam ultra gens. — But situated in the extremity of the

island, as we are, there are no nations beyond us, from whom we might look for assistance, nothing but waves and rocks ; and on the other side are the Romans, who are still more hostile and unfriendly than even these.

Raptores orbis. — Compare *Sall. Frag. Hist.* iv. 8. *An ignoras Romanos postquam ad Occidentem pergentibus finem oceanus fecit, arma huc convertisse? Neque quicquam a principio nisi raptum habere, domum, conjuges, agros, imperium? Convenas olim, sine patria, sine parentibus, pesti conditos orbis terrarum?*

CHAP. XXXI. — *Hi .. auferuntur.* — Britons are traced in Illyricum, Gaul, Spain, and elsewhere. *Numerus Britonum Caledoniorum* occurs in an inscription of the colony of Ara Aelia. So we find Sigambri in Thrace (*Annal.* iv. 47). Ligurians in Numidia (*Sall. Jug.* 100).

Bona .. egerunt. — "They consume our goods and property in taxes, the produce of the year in contributions of corn." So, *Census in exsequias egerere* (*Quint. Decl.* v. 17). *Annos* for *proventus annorum.* So, *Agricolae raptum flevere juvencis annum* (*Lucan.* iii. 452). *Nec arare terram et exspectare annum tam facile persuaseris* (*Germ.* 14). Compare, *Stat. Theb.* iv. 720. *Silv.* iii. 2. 22.

Silvis ac paludibus emuniendis. — In making roads through woods and over marshes. *Munire* is used properly when a piece of work is performed by a number of persons to each of whom a portion is allotted. The root is the same as in *munus*, a task. Hence, *munire viam* is not to fortify a road, but simply to make one.

Verbera inter ac contumelias. — So in *Insulam inter Germanosque* (*Hist.* v. 19), *Tectum inter et laquearia* (*Annal.* iv. 69), *Ripam ad Euphratis* (vi. 37), *Hostem propter* (iv. 48), the preposition comes after its noun.

Nata .. aluntur. — Καὶ πόσῳ κρεῖττον ἦν ἅπαξ τισὶ πεπρᾶσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ κενῶν ἐλευθερίας ὀνομάτων κατ' ἔτος λυτροῦσθαι (*Dion*, lxii. 3).

Britannia .. pascit. — By paying tribute, and supplying the Roman armies with food. *Pascere* is properly used with reference to cattle.

Novi nos et viles. — i. e. *Nos tanquam novi et viles.*

Aut metalla, aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. — *Qui universas provincias regunt, jus gladii habent, et in metallum dandi po-*

testas iis permissa est (*Dig. de Off. Praes.* 1. *tit.* 18. s. 6. § 8. from *Ulpianus*). The *quibus exercendis* properly applies only to *arva aut metalla*; but the full expression would be, *neque enim arva aut metalla nobis sunt, quibus exercendis, neque portus quorum reditibus retinendis reservemur.*

Brigantes femina duce.— Camden substituted *Trinobantes* for *Brigantes*, from *Dion*, lxii. 1. and *Annal.* xiv. 31. In this he has been followed by several editors. But the alteration is unnecessary. The insurrection of the Britons against Suetonius Paulinus began with the Iceni and their queen, Boudicea. With the Iceni were united the Trinobantes, *et qui alii nondum servitio fracti resumere libertatem occultis conjurationibus pepigerant* (*Annal.* xiv. 31). By these we cannot well understand the Silures, in whose territory Suetonius was posted; and accordingly we must look to the northern tribes above the Iceni. The wide extent of the Brigantes, the loose connection of some of the tribes with their queen, Cartismandua, and their fondness for warlike adventure, which is marked by their very name (Brigands), render it not unlikely that some of the southern divisions of this race took part in the insurrection of their neighbours. Why, moreover, should Calgacus mention the remote and comparatively small tribe of the Trinobantes, rather than the neighbouring and powerful one of the Brigantes? Compare *Annal.* xii. 32.

Et libertatem non in praesentia laturi.— There is some corruption in the text here, and endless conjectures have been hazarded respecting it; but no one seems to have discovered the true reading. The corrections may be divided into two classes. 1) Those which make the words contain merely a repetition of the idea contained in *integri et indomiti*; as, *libertatem non in praesentia illaturi*; *lib. non in praesenti ablaturi*; *lib. non in praesens vindicaturi.* Most of the interpreters keep the words *libertatem laturi*, and explain *laturi* in the sense of carrying off as a prize. *Plus flagitii et periculi laturos* (*Annal.* vi. 34). Οἰσόμενοι δόξαν (*Thuc.* ii. 12). The general meaning given to the sentence is, "We, who have not now for the first time to win our liberty." 2) Those which make a sort of opposition between the two clauses. Amongst these are, *Et lib. nunc demum periclitaturi* (*Gron.*); *et lib. omnem in procinctu laturi* — *et lib. in praemium laturi* (*Ern.*); *et libertatem in praecipitem aleam laturi* (*Walch*). Compare *Ne elatus felicitate summam rerum in non necessariam aleam daret* (*Liv.* xxxvii. 36. xlii. 59).

Non for *nonne* is not unfrequent. *Quis vestrum igitur nescit, quanti haec aestimentur? In auctione signum aeneum non magnum HS. CXX. milibus venire non vidimus?* (*Cic. Verr.* iv. 7.) *At, non viderunt moenia Trojae, Neptuni fabricata manu considere in ignes?* (*Virg. Æn.* ix. 144).

Chap. XXXII. — *Ex diversissimis gentibus.* — As the Britanni, Batavi, Tungri, Galli, Itali. See *c.* 13. 32. 36.

Nisi si. — *So Annal.* xv. 53. Εἰ μὴ εἴ τις.. καλεῖ (*Plat. Symp.* p. 205. e). Εἰ μὴ εἴ τι (*Thuc.* i. 17).

Pudet dictu, — Instead of *pudet dicere. Puditum est factis* (*Plaut. Bacch.* iii. 1. 12). *Quia dictu fastidienda sunt* (*Val. Max.* ix. 13. 2).

Aut nulla .. est. — "The greater part are either the betrayers of their country, as the Britanni, or are fighting in a foreign land, as the Batavians, Tungri, Gauls," &c.

Circum trepidos .. circumspectantes — Some editors take *circum trepidos* to be equivalent to *circum trepidantes*, or *trepide circum vagantes*, others strike out *circum.* But that would be equivalent to saying, *Qui non solum omnino trepidi sunt ignorantia, verum etiam ignorant, quae in caelo,* &c. *appareant.* Most probably some such word as *locorum, viarum,* or *regionum* has been lost before *circum. Circum* must then be taken as in *Annal.* xii. 55, *Duri circum loci.* The words may then be translated, "A few in number, dismayed through their ignorance of the surrounding country."

Ne terreat .. vulnerat. — Compare, *Liv.* x. 39. *Aesch. Sept. cont. Theb.* 397.

Senum coloniae. — See *c.* 5.

Aegra municipia — The verb *aegrotare* is used in the same manner. Compare a similar use of νοσεῖν in Greek. Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἐνόσει τὰ οἰκεῖα (*Joseph. Bell. Jud.* i. 2). Τὰ δ' ἐκ δόμων νοσεῖ (*Soph. Elect.* 1070). Καὶ νοσεῖ τὰ φίλτατα (*Eurip. Med.* 17).

Chap. XXXIII. — *Excepere orationem.* — *Excipere* is used in the some manner by Livy, *Exceptus clamor ab aliis* (xxiv. 31). *Haec plures per silentium aut occultum murmur excepere* (*Annal.* ii. 38).

Jamque .. procursu. — We must supply some such word as *apparent.* The ellipse of the verb is common in Tacitus. *Ubi Vespasianus Brit. reciperavit, magni duces* (*c.* 17). *Inde etiam habitus nostri honor, et frequens toga* (*c.* 21).

Simul instruebatur acies.—"The army of the Caledonians was being drawn up in line."

Coërcitum — Here has the force of an adjective in *ilis*. So, *Genus mobile, infidum, neque beneficio neque metu coërcitum* (*Sall. Jug.* 91). *Quod adversum divitias animum invictum gerebat* (*Jug.* 43). *Quamquam infinitum id existimatur, nec temere sine aliqua reprehensione tractatum*, instead of *tractabile* (*Plin. Hist. Nat.* iii. *Proëm*).

Militem adhortatus ita disseruit. — This perfect participle is in meaning equivalent to a present participle. So, *Hor. Sat.* II. iii. 34. *In hunc modum etiam Vitellius apud milites disseruit, praetorianos nuper exauctoratos insectatus* (*Hist.* ii. 96). *Complexus* (*Annal.* I. 40. vi. 21). *Precatus* (xi. 35). *Questus* (*Hist.* iv. 9), &c.

Octavus annus est. — It was, in fact, the seventh summer since he had arrived in Britain. But he probably includes the year 77, in which he was appointed governor, though he did not arrive in Britain till A. D. 78. It is possible, however, that *octavus* (viii) may be a mistake for *septimus* (vii).

Veteres legati. — *i. e. Priores legati.*

Et vota virtusque in aperto. — "You have now an open field for fulfilling your vows and displaying your valour."

Pulcrum ac decorum in frontem. — Lipsius took *frontem* here in the same sense as *speciem*. Brotier also translated it by *en apparence*. Some translate it as if it were *proficiscentibus in frontem;* which would be rather a harsh expression. *Frons* here is equivalent to *acies; quae adversus hostem spectat* (*Veget.* iii. 14). The meaning of the sentence is: *Ut pulcrum frontem ostendenti, ita fugientibus periculosum:* "as it is glorious and full of honour to an army marching against the enemy, so," &c. *Pulcrum in frontem*, for *pulcrum fronti. Pulcrum, jucundum, gratum mihi*, is the common expression; but Tacitus uses *Grata in vulgus* (*Annal.* ii. 59). So other writers say: *Dissimilis alicui;* but Tacitus has, *Haud dissimili in dominum* (*Annal.* ii. 39). *Magnifica in populum largitio* (ii. 48).

Neque . . tuta esse. — Μωρὸν γὰρ τὸ κρατεῖν βουλομένους τὰ τυφλὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἄοπλα καὶ ἄχειρα, ταῦτα ἐναντία τάττειν τοῖς πολεμίοις φεύγοντας (*Xen. Cyr.* i. 3).

CHAP. XXXIV. — *Ii ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi.* — So, Thucydides, Ἀξιολογώτατος τῶν προτέρων πολέμων.

Robore. — The old reading was *ruere;* but the infinitive could not

be used in this way after *quomodo*, or *sicut*. *Quomodo .. robore* (*i. e. agminis*). Both *robore* and *ipso sono* are constructed with *pelluntur*; but there is a zeugma in this passage. With *robore* we must understand *caeditur*. *Fortissimum .. agminis*. This may refer either to a band of hunters, or a troop of soldiers. *Delituisse inter angustias saltus ignobilium ferarum ritu, quae strepitu praetereuntium audito, silvarum latebris se occuluerunt* (*Curt.* III. viii. 10).

Quos quod tandem invenistis. — This is an imitation of the Greek idiom, for *qui, quod invenistis eos, non restiterunt.* So, *Urbem quam statuo vestra est* (*Virg. Aen.* i. 573). *Eunuchum quem dedisti quas turbas dedit* (*Ter. Eun.* IV. iii. 11). "There remains only a number of cowardly and timid men, whom you have found at last, not because they opposed you, but because, being the last, they have been overtaken and caught by you."

In his vestigiis. — In this place where they are standing. See *Cic. Cat.* iv. 6. *Liv.* xxii. 49.

Transigite cum expeditionibus. — *i. e.* Complete them. *Transigere cum nuptiis* (*Germ.* 19). *Bellorum egregios fines, quotiens ignoscendo transigatur* (*Annal.* xii. 19).

Inponite.. magnum diem.—"Crown the fifty years with one glorious day." *Quinquaginta annis.* He is speaking in round numbers; from the expedition of A. Plautius, it was only forty-two years.

CHAP. XXXV. — *Firmarent* (i. e. *firmando formarent*). — *Dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum, media acie peditibus firmata* (*Liv.* xxii. 46). *Mediam aciem Hispanis firmat* (xxiii. 29). Under *mediam aciem* Tacitus includes all the infantry between the two bodies of cavalry.

Ingens .. decus .. bellanti. — i. e. *Ingens duci decus si bellaret.*

Citra Romanum sanguinem. — See *c.* 1. *Germ. c.* 16, note.

Ut primum agmen aequo sc. *consisteret.* — "So that the first line stood upon the plain, the others above one another, as if linked together, upon the ascent of the mountain." *Aequo* may, however, only mean "On the level part of the hill."

Media campi. — The space between the van of the Caledonians and the Roman line.

Covinarius. — *Dimicant non equitatu modo aut pedite, verum et bigis et curribus Gallice armati; covinos vocant, quorum falcatis axibus utuntur* (*Mel.* iii. 6). Compare *Caes, B. G.* iv. 33.

Simul in frontem simul et latera. — *Quamquam mater in Liviam, et mox (in) Juliam familiam adoptionibus transierit* (*Annal.* vi. 51).

Quamquam porrectior acies. — *In longitudinem porrecta acies. Clamantibus tribunis nihil introrsum roboris ac virium esse, et quacunque impetum dedissent hostes, perrupturos* (*Liv.* xxv. 21).

Promptior in spem. — Tacitus also uses *promptior alicui: mater promptior Neroni erat* (*Annal.* iv. 60). Older writers commonly have *promptus ad aliquid.*

Dimisso equo. — *Tradito caloni equo*, or *tradito equo* is the phrase Livy uses.

Pedes ante vexilla constitit. — He posted himself on foot before the ensigns.

CHAP. XXXVI. — *Simul constantia .. excutere.* — According to Vegetius (i. 4) the Roman recruit was instructed, *plagam prudenter evitare, et obliquis ictibus venientia tela deflectere.* This is what Tacitus expresses here by the words *evitare* and *excutere.*

Superfundere. — Τρῶες δ' ἐπὶ δούρατ' ἔχευαν ὀξέα (*Hom. Il.* ε. 618). Βέλεα χέοντο (*Il.* ο. 589).

Ac Tungrorum duas. — Many monuments of these Tungrian cohorts remain in Britain, on which we find engraved COH. TUNGR. or COH. I. TUNGROR. MIL.

Et hostibus .. gerentibus. — Their small shields did not cover their bodies, and their huge swords were not easily wielded.

Complexum armorum. — *Complexus armorum*, according to Ernesti, is *pugna quae fit cominus et conserendis manibus.* Brotier understands it in the same sense, *Complexus est quod Gallici dicimus*, "la mêlée," *cum cominus hostis petitur*; but if this interpretation were correct, *complexus armorum* would have the same meaning as the following words, *in arcto pugna*, that is, *pugna cominus.* But as *in arcto pugnam* refers apparently to *manus* preceding (*ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent*), so *complexus* may refer to *mucrones*; and it will then merely mean the blows or thrusts of the Roman weapons, &c.

In arcto pugnam. — So, *In arcto pugna* (*Liv.* xxviii. 33). The old reading was, *in aperto*, which does not suit the meaning.

Festinatione victoriae. — *Festinatio* here follows the active meaning which *festino* and *propero* nearly always have in Tacitus. See *Annal.* xiii. 17. *Hist.* iii. 25.

CHAP. XXXVII. — *Adcurrerant.* — The reduplicated form occurs only once in Tacitus, *in decucurrit* (*Annal.* ii. 7).

Tum vero. — See *Germ.* c. 14, note.

Grande et atrox spectaculum. — *Tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus: sequi, fugere, occidi, capi, equi atque viri afflicti* (*Sall. Jug.* 101).

Eosdem. —Those who had been taken.

Prout cuique ingenium erat. —So, Sallust, *Uti cujusque ingenium erat. Pro ingenio quisque* (*Jug.* 57).

Jam hostium .. virtusque. — There is an antithesis between *jam hostium .. offerre*, and *est .. virtusque.* To the former is subjoined, as its consequent, *passim .. humus;* and to the latter, *postquam silvis .. circumveniebant.* Dahl and some other editors propose to alter the order of the clauses, but by so doing disturb the natural succession of ideas.

Est aliquando, &c. — *Quondam etiam victis redit in praecordia virtus* (*Virg. Aen.* ii. 367). *Est* in this position is emphatic. Compare *Germ.* 10. 39.

Indaginis modo. — *Quum praemissus eques velut indagine dissipatos Samnites ageret* (*Liv.* vii. 37). *Indago* refers to that mode of hunting in which the huntsmen formed a complete circle round a large space of ground ; and gradually contracting it, drove all the animals together into the centre, where they fell an easy prey to their darts. *Inde partito exercitu, totam amplexus Cantabriam, efferam gentem ritu ferarum, quasi indagine, debellabat* (*Flor.* iv. 12. 48).

Sicubi arctiora erant (sc. *loca*). — He means, wherever there were thickets. To these are opposed, *rariores silvae.*

Firmis ordinibus. — " In close array."

Nec alius alium respectantes. — *i. e.* Each looking only to his own safety.

Sexaginta. — Some editions have *quadraginta.* The change is very slight,—XL, for LX.

CHAP. XXXVIII. — *Miscere .. separare.* — Tacitus means, sometimes they conferred together ; and again, at other times, deliberated with themselves.

Frangi.—So, *Fracti* (*c.* 29). Ἐπιγνάμπτειν κῆρ (*Hom. Il.* α. 569). Ἐνικλᾶν νόημα (θ. 408). Στρατηγοὺς κλαστήσεις. (*Aristoph. Equit.*)

Secreti colles. — So, *Secretum maris* (*c.* 25). *Longinquitas et secretum* (*c.* 31). The word implies a place not so much obscure and concealed, as desolate and solitary.

Circumvehi Britanniam. — This was more for the sake of conquest than of discovery: therefore, *datae ad id vires.*

Trutulensem portum. — Where this was is not known. Brotier identifies it with the *portus Rutupinus*, or *Rutupensis*, Ῥουτουπίαι (*Ptol.* ii. 3), Sandwich; others, with Portsmouth or Plymouth. But the words *unde . . redierat* must mean, *Quo redierat, inde lecto proximo omni Britanniae latere.* Compare *Dic, Blaese, ubi cadaver abjeceris?* (*Annal.* i. 22;) for *ubi sit locus quo?* *Unde plures erant, omnes fuere* (*Hist.* i. 56). *Unde clamor acciderat circumagere corpora* (*Hist.* iv. 29). *Quo descendere gestis: Non erit emisso reditus* (*Hor. Epist.* I. xx. 5). Μὴ ἀγάγοι, ὅθεν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἔσται ἐξελθεῖν (*Xen. Anab.* i. 3. §. 17). Ὁρᾷς ἵν' ἥκεις; (*Soph. Oed. Tyr.* 687).

By *proximum latus omne*, he means the eastern coast and part of the north and west coast.

CHAP. XXXIX. — *Inerat* — Used absolutely in this way, is found elsewhere. *Praecipua pedum pernicitas inerat* (*Liv.* ix. 16). Ἄρνησις οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἂν ἀνιστορεῖς (*Soph. Oed. Tyr.* 578).

Falsum e Germania triumphum. — This refers to his first fictitious triumph over the Catti, in A. U. 837. The occasion was furnished apparently by the Cheruscan king, Charomer, who, by means of Roman influence and Roman money, having become too powerful for his hostile neighbours, was expelled by the Catti. Dio (lxvii. 4) says: Μηδ' ἑωρακώς που πολέμιον ἐπανῆκε. See *c.* 41. *Hist.* iv. 15. *Suet. Dom.* 6. After this, in A. U. 838, Domitian triumphed over the Daci, Marcomanni, and Quadi.

Emptis per conmercia, &c. — See *c. Germ.* 24. Caligula had set him the example. *Suet. Cal.* 47.

Id sibi maxime formidolosum. — *Putabat*, or *existimabat*, must be supplied from *conscientia inerat. Formidolosus* is here passive. So *Sall. Cat.* 7. Thucydidus (i. 36) uses ἀδεέστερον in the same way.

Frustra studia fori.—Domitian thought that it was of no use for him to have put an end to the study of eloquence and polite literature, and to have banished those who excelled in such pursuits (*c.* 2), if some one else should obtain popularity by his success in war.

Utcunque facilius. — In later writers, *utcunque* is frequently used

with an adjective, and even by itself, without a verb. *Esset utcunque tolerabilis* (*Quint. I. O.* II. iii. 4). *Et hoc quidem in concilio ampliore utcunque tutius* (IV. i. 21).

Dissimulari. — i. e. *Occultari.*

Secreto suo satiatus. — *Domitianus secretum petebat, ibique muscas stilo confodere solitus : unde percunctanti cuidam, An quis in secreto Domitiani esset? responsum, Ne musca quidem* (*Suet. Dom.* 3).

CHAP. XL. — *Triumphalia .. datur.* — Since the year 735, after Agrippa's victory over the Cantabri, the honour of the triumph itself belonged to the emperor and to the imperial princes. Other generals were forced to be contented with the mere insignia of the triumph, the laurel chaplet, toga praetexta, trabea triumphalis, triumphal statue (*inlustris*), the curule chair, the ivory sceptre, &c. In *quidquid pro triumpho datur*, are included the public sacrifices and thanksgivings. See *Dio*, liv. 11. 24.

Majoribus. — i. e. *Inlustrioribus.* So, *Minores* (*Annal.* xvi. 8). *Hist.* iv. 85) is equivalent to *obscuriores.*

Ut, si in Britannia foret .. remeasse. — Agricola was immediately recalled ; but the suspicious Domitian feared that he might maintain his post by force ; the sending of this freedman with letters patent, conferring on him the government of Syria, was merely a device to draw him away from Britain. If Agricola were already on his way to Rome, that would be unnecessary ; and accordingly the freedman, meeting Agricola on his journey, returned to Rome without delivering the letters.

Tradiderat .. Agricola. — Dio (liii. 15) mentions an ordinance of Augustus :—Ὅταν τῳ ὁ διάδοχος ἔλθῃ ἔκ τε τοῦ ἐθνοῦς αὐτίκα αὐτὸν ἐξορμᾶσθαι, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ μὴ ἐγχρονίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐντος τριῶν μηνῶν ἐπανιέναι. The successor of Agricola was probably Sallustius Lucullus. *Sallustium Lucullum Britanniae legatum interemit, quod lanceas novae formae Luculleas appellari passus est* (*Suet. Dom.* 10). The possession of the Highlands was lost after Agricola was recalled. See *Hist.* i. 2.

Otiosos. — *Otium* is commonly used in opposition to *bellum.* *Quieti et otio adsuescere* (c. 21). *Militares artes per otium ignotae* (*Annal.* xii. 12).

Penitus — Here is equivalent to *prorsus, omnino, valde.* So, *Consuetudinem .. penitus amisimus* (*Cic. Off.* ii. 8).

Aestimare.—See note on c. 5.

Adeo ut plerique .. quaererent famam pauci interpretarentur. — So that most men missed the splendour which they had looked for in one so renowned, few understood his motives.

CHAP. XLI. — *Crebro .. adcusatus.* — Amongst the enemies of Agricola may be mentioned M. Regulus, Veiento, and Publius Certus.

Absens absolutus est. — Domitian himself felt the gross injustice of these charges.

Pessimum .. laudantes.—Every commendation bestowed upon Agricola would only increase the rancour of the suspicious Domitian.

Tot exercitus, &c. — This refers to the war with the Daci, Marcomanni, and Quadi, in the years 86—91, which ended with Domitian's second mock triumph. The Dacians, since the foundation of their power under Boerebistes, had been involved in continual struggles with the Romans, in their predatory incursions into Moesia, Illyria, and Thrace. About the time of Vespasian, however, they were reduced to a kind of dependence on the Romans. But through dread of Domitian's avarice, they dissolved their connection with them; and in A. D. 86 made an irruption into Moesia, where the governor, Appius Sabinus who advanced to oppose them, was defeated and slain. The struggle against his successor, Cornelius Fuscus, who penetrated into Dacia, was longer and more bloody, and frequently carried on with doubtful success. The last decisive battle, however, cost Fuscus his life, and the Dacians plundered the Roman camp. The fragmentary accounts which we have, afford no means of determining accurately the chronology of these events; it is uncertain whether it was in A. D. 88 or 89 that Domitian went to Moesia, where he abandoned himself to luxury and dissipation, whilst the experienced Julian, through a successful battle near Tapae, penetrated almost to Decebalus's capital, Zermigethusa; and although prevented from advancing further through a stratagem of the enemy, he delivered the Romans from their critical situation. It could have been mere indifference as to the event, or the desire of revenge, which induced Domitian to engage in fresh struggles against the Marcomanni. He crossed the Danube; but received a signal overthrow in their territories, which compelled him to offer peace to Decebalus.

Tot militares viri.. expugnati.—So, *Expugnatis praesidiis* (*Agr.* 16).

Reges expugnare (*Lucr.* iv. 1008). *Obsessos fame expugnavit* (*Liv.* xxiii. 30). Ἐξεπολιόρκησαν λιμῷ (*Thuc.* i. 134). Βίᾳ ἐκπολιορκηθείς (i. 131).

De limite imperii. — This, in all probability, must be looked for in the line of Roman forts still visible between Peterwardein and Becs on the Teis.

Ripa. — The right bank of the Danube, as far as the Quadi and Marcomanni.

Reorum. — This is a conjectural reading: the MSS. have *eorum.* *Reus* is frequently used, not merely in a strictly legal sense in opposition to *accusator*, *petitor*, *actor*, but with a more extended meaning. *Orare ut se reum fortunae ejus diei crimine eximerent* (*Liv.* vi. 24). *Rhescuporis maluit patrati, quam incepti facinoris reus esse* (*Annal.* ii. 66). *Cohortium clamor dehinc continuus, nomina reorum et poenas flagitantium* (xi. 35). *Nam si caderet Marcellus, agmen reorum sternebatur* (*Hist.* iv. 6). *Hinc accusationes potentium reorum* (*Dial. de Orat.* 36).

Dum .. exstimulabant. — *Dum* is more usually followed by the present tense; but there is nothing in the conjunction itself which necessarily requires this, and the imperfect is sometimes found with it.

In ipsam gloriam praeceps agebatur. — The idea intended to be conveyed by these words is, that Agricola's virtues, which were maliciously magnified by his enemies, raised his reputation and glory; but that this very glory was the cause of his ruin.

CHAP. XLII. — *Quo .. sortiretur.* — We have no other examples of this use of *sortior* in the sense of *in sortem conjicio.* Asiae *aut* Africae has been conjectured.

Annus. — If it was still the custom for the *legati Caesarum* and proconsuls to wait five years before they again drew lots for the provinces (Dio, liii. 14), this would be the year 89 or 90.

Occiso Civica. — *Complures senatores, in his aliquot consulares interemit, in quibus Civicam Cerialem in ipso Asiae proconsulatu* (*Suet. Dom.* 10).

Exemplum. — Precedent.

Non jam obscuri — Is a correction for *non tam obscuri*, and answers infinitely better to *primo occultius.* Besides, *ita*, not *tam*, would be required.

Paratus simulatione. — So, *Paratus peditatu* (*Cic ad Att.* ix. 13).

Gratias passus. — *Caio Caesari agebant gratias et quorum liberi occisi, et quorum bona ablata erant* (*Sen. de Tranq. An.* 14).

Neque erubuit beneficii invidia. — Nor did he blush that Agricola should receive as a favour so marked an injury. *Invidia* for *res invidiosa.*

Salarium — Was an allowance for the maintenance of the governor. The word is derived from *sal*, meaning, properly, money given for purchasing salt. *Parochi praebent ligna salemque quae debent* (*Hor. Sat.* I. v. 46). It was first granted by Augustus. It amounted sometimes to two hundred and fifty thousand drachmae. See *Dio*, lii. 23. lxxviii. 22,

Inlicita — Refers to the *contumacia* and *inanis libertatis jactatio*, frequently assumed by stoics in those times; as, for example, when Helvidius Priscus openly celebrated the birthday of Brutus and Cassius. See *Dio*, lxvi. 12, 13. 15.

Eo laudis excedere, quo, &c. — "Attain to the same degree of praise as," &c. *Tanta excessit novitate et magnitudine clades* (*Annal.* ii. 24). *Quo ultra iram violentiamque ejus excessuram fuisse?* (*Liv.* viii. 33.) *Huccine evasit beneficium?* (*Sall. Jug.* 14.)

Eo laudis. — *Eo inopiae* (c. 18). *Huc arrogantiae* (*Annal*, iii. 73). *Eo magnificentiae* (ii. 33).

Quo .. inclaruerunt. — i. e. *Quo clarescentes pervenerunt.* So, *Quo nando praelababantur*, for *praelabantes pervenerunt* (*Hist.* ii. 35). By *abrupta* is meant what Tacitus (*Annal.* iv. 20) calls *abrupta contumacia*, opposed to *deforme obsequium.* The sense of the whole passage is, *Obsequium et modestia, si vigor et industria adsint, eo gloriae perveniunt quo multi pervenire solent per abruptam contumaciam mortem ambitiose quaerentes, sed rempublicam nihil juvantes.*

CHAP. XLIII. — *Extraneis .. fuit.* — The epigram of Antiphilus (*Anthol. Brunck.* ii. 160) is commonly supposed to refer to the celebrated Agricola: —

α. Κρηναῖαι λιβάδες, τί πεφεύγατε; ποῦ τόσον ὕδωρ;
Τίς φλὸξ ἀενάους ἔσβεσεν ἀελίου;
β. Δάκρυσιν Ἀγρικόλαο τετρύμεθα, πᾶν δ' ὅσον ἡμῖν,
Ἦν ποτὸν, ἡ κείνου διψὰς ἔχει σποδιή.

Which Grotius translates:—

Quo fontis latices, quo copia vestra recessit?
Perpetuas solis quis calor hausit aquas?
Agricolae luctu consumimur; illius ante
Humida, nunc fiunt pulverulenta siti.

Aliud agens. — Busying themselves about other people's affairs.

Nobis .. ausim. — Various explanations, or corrections have been given of this sentence. *Nobis nihil comp. aff. ausim* cannot stand for *ex incompertis rebus quicquam affirmare non ausim.* Acidalius has proposed, *Nobis nihil comperti, quod affirmare ausim.* Walch, *Nobis nihil compertum, quod aff. ausim.* Peerlkamp, *Nobis nihil compertum* (sc. *esse*), *affirmare ausim.* Ruperti, *Veneno interceptum nobis. Nihil comperti affirmare ausim*, i. e. *Nihil ex iis quae comperi aff. ausim.*

Medicorum intimi. — Those who were deepest in the secrets and confidence of the prince.

Sive .. erat. — Whether through anxiety for his recovery, or to inquire into the progress of the disorder.

Momenta deficientis. — The different stages of the death-struggle.

Per.. cursores nuntiata.— It appears that Domitian was at this time at his Alban villa.

Speciem .. metum. — How well this accorded with Domitian's character, we learn from Dio, lxvii. 2.

Quo coheredem .. scripsit — See *Annal.* xvi. 11. *Nec defuere qui monerent, magna ex parte heredem Caesarem nuncupare atque ita nepotibus de reliquo consulere* (*Annal.* xvi. 31. ii. 48).

Honore judicioque. — i. e. *Honore judicioque honorifico.*

CHAP. XLIV. —*Natus erat.. coss.*—Caligula's third consulate was in the year 793; the consulate of Collega and Priscus, in 846. According to this, Agricola would have died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, being fifty-three years, two months. and ten days old. To get over this difficulty, some suppose that Tacitus wrote LIV and not LVI; others, that he wrote *primum* instead of *tertium.* The first consulate of Caligula was in 790. The latter is the more likely. If we take 790 as the year of Agricola's birth, he would be fifty-six years, two months, and ten days old, and accordingly properly in his fifty-seventh year. But *sexto et quinquagesimo anno mortuus est* may mean that he died either before or after the completion of his fifty-sixth year. Suetonius (*Aug.* 26) says:—*Consulatum vicesimo aetatis anno*

invasit. This was when he wanted thirty-six days of having completed his twentieth year. Livy (*Ep.* 119), on the contrary, says:—*Nonum decimum agens*, of a youth who was above nineteen years and ten months old. Now Agricola was praetor under Nero, and therefore before June 9, 821. According to Dio (lii. 20), he must have then completed his twenty-ninth year. Taking the extreme case, if he was praetor after Aug. 23, 820, he must have been born in 791. But this is impossible, as Caligula was not consul in that year; accordingly, we can only suppose that he was born in 790, and thus he would be quaestor after the completion of his twenty-fifth year, tribune after his twenty-seventh, praetor after his twenty-ninth, and consul after his thirty-ninth year.

Decentior quam sublimior fuit.— By *decor habitus* is meant the συμμετρία τοῦ σώματος. In person he was rather well made than tall.

Nihil.. supererat.—As Ovid (*Met.* ii. 857) says:—*Nullae in fronte minae, nec formidabile lumen: Pacem vultus habet.*

Medio .. ereptus.— *Centum et viginti anni ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem colliguntur, unius hominis aetas* (*Dial. de Orat.* 17).

Impleverat.—i. e. *Assecutus erat. Impletum est consilium si*, &c. (*Hist.* i. 16). Ἀναπλῆσαι (*Hom. Od.* ι. 208). Οὐ γὰρ ἱκανὸς ὁ Ζεὺς .. ἀναπληρῶσαι τὸ κάλλος αὐτου (*Lucian. Q. H. C. S.* 8). Compare *Juvenal* viii. 83. x. 346—366.

Opibus .. contigerant.—Dio (lxvi. 20) errs in saying:—Ὁ δὲ Ἀγρικόλας ἔν τε ἀτιμίᾳ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου καὶ ἐν ἐνδείᾳ .. ἔζησε (*i. e.* "Agricola lived, for the remainder of his life, in dishonour and in want"). This is contradicted by his not asking for the proconsular allowance (*c.* 42), and by what Tacitus says (*c.* 6).

Nam, sicuti .. ominabatur. — For *quod* some propose *quodam.* Ernesti reads—*Nam sicuti beatissimum durare in hanc saeculi lucem*, &c. Dahl—*Non licuit ei durare*, or, *Nam sicut ei non licuit durare.* Walch proposes—*Trajanum quandoque videre augurio*, or, *Trajanum videre augurioque votisque*; or else to strike out *quod.* It may then be paraphrased thus—*Etenim, quamquam vitam se propagaturum esse in temporum horum felicitate, atque Trajanum regnantem visurum, et auguriis ominabatur, et votis concupiscebat, mortis tamen, quae hac felicitate eum privasse videri possit, grande solatium tulit, quod evaserat*, &c. This use of *durare ac videre*, for *se duraturum ac visurum*, may be defended from, *Ratusque dedecus amoliri* (*Annal.* xiv. 14). *Nusquam eas* (pecunias) *tutius sanctiusque deponere credentibus* (*Liv.* xxiv. 18). *An creditis*

aequo animo iis servire (Curt. iv. 14. 23). There seems, however, to be no necessity for any alteration: the meaning of the passage is—*Nam sicuti durare in hac beatissimi saeculi luce ac principem Trajanum videre* solatium fert et ipsi quoque tulisset saevitiae priorum temporum, *quod augurio v. a. n. a. o. ita f. m. grande solatium tulit.* The force of the words, *augurio* and *ominabatur* may be seen from Dio (lxvii. 12):—Τραϊάνῳ δὲ δὴ τῷ Οὐλπίῳ, καὶ Ἀκιλίῳ Γλαβρίωνι ὑπατεύσασι τότε τὰ αὐτὰ σημεῖα λέγεται γενέσθαι· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῷ μὲν Γλαβρίωνι ὄλεθρος, τῷ δε Τραϊάνῳ ἡ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας ἀρχὴ προεῤῥέθη. This was in the year 844. Pliny, speaking of the same period, says—*Tibi ascendenti de more Capitolium, quamquam non id agentium, cirium clamor, ut jam principi, occurrit .. nec aliter a cunctis omen acceptum est (Pan.* 5). *Tu enim (Capitoline Jupiter), jam tunc illum in tutelam recepisti, quum praedonis avidissimi faucibus eripuisti. Tu clara judicii tui signa misisti, quum proficiscenti ad exercitum tuo nomine, tuo honore cessisti* (c. 94).

Apud nostras aures. — See *Hist.* i. 26.

CHAP. XLV. — *Non vidit,* &c. — See *Annal.* xvi. 27. *Suet. Dom.* 10, 11. *Plin. Ep.* iii. 11. vii. 19. *Dio,* lxvii. 12.

Tot consularium caedes. — See *Suet. Dom.* 10. 15.

Feminarum exsilia et fugas. — As Annia, Fannia, Gratilla, Flavia Domitilla, and Pontia Domitilla.

Carus Metius. — One of the most notorious informers under Domitian, is often mentioned by Pliny (*Ep.* i. 5. 11. vii. 19. 27), Martial (xii. 25), Juvenal (i. 36). According to the scholiast upon Juvenal he was an actor. *Una .. censebatur.* Since, as yet, but one victim had fallen beneath his accusations, no one could at that time conceive the mischief which he was shortly about to bring upon the nation.

Et intra .. strepebat. — This was Domitian's villa, which he built on the Via Appia, at the foot of the Alban Mount. *Juv.* iv. 145. Hither he frequently summoned the senate and pontifices. See *Juv.* iv. 60. *Dio,* lxvii. 1. *Suet. Dom.* 4. 19. *Plin. Ep.* iv. 11. 22. Respecting the famous informer, Catullus Messalinus, see *Juv.* iv. 113—122. *Dio,* lxvii. 1.

Massa Bebius jam tum reus erat. — After he had been procurator of Africa. See c. 2. *Hist.* iv. 50.

Nostrae .. manus. — The hands of senators. Tacitus took his seat in the senate as a man of praetorian rank after 841. This refers

to Helvidius the younger. He was accused under pretence, *Quasi scenico exodio sub persona Paridis et Oenones divortium Domitiani cum uxore taxasset* (*Suet. Dom.* 10). *Inter multa scelera multorum nullum atrocius videbatur quam quod in senatu senator senatori, praetorius consulari, reo judex, manus intulisset* (*Plin. Ep.* ix. 13. See, also, ii. 12).

Nos Maurici Rusticique visus. — Mauricus was the brother of Rusticus, and upon the death of the latter went into exile; but returned in the reign of Nerva. See *Hist.* iv. 40. *Annal.* xvi. 26. *Visus* for *species* is used by Cicero (*De Nat. Deor.* i. 5), Livy (viii. 9), Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxii. 6).

Nos .. perfudit. — This sentence is an example of the grammatical figure called zeugma: the meaning of it is—*Nos Maurici Rusticique visus* (horrore perculit), *nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit. Senecio*, see *c.* 2.

Subscriberentur. — "Were made subjects of accusation against us." Others take the word to mean simply, *were secretly noted down.* So, *Cum subscribere quaedam animadvertisset curiosum ac speculatorem* (*Suet. Octav.* 27). See *Ut quibus .. noscatur* (*Annal.* i. 73). This evil was encouraged under Tiberius (*Annal.* iv. 30), Caligula, Claudius, and Nero; repressed under Vespasian (*Hist.* iv. 44), but reached its height under Domitian.

Subficeret. — *i. e.* "Never tired."

Saevus ille vultus et rubor. — *Plin. Pan.* 48. Ἡ δὲ ὀφρὺς ἐπίκειται τῷ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἤθει· μεστὴ δ' ἡ παρειὰ χολῆς· ταυτὶ γὰρ μάλιστα ἐπιφαίνει (*Philostr. Vit. Apoll.* vii. 28).

Quo .. muniebat. — The old reading was *a quo.* This might perhaps mean, *a quo auxilium petens se muniebat. A centurione .. caderet* is used for *a centurione ictus caderet* (*Annal.* xvi. 9). *Quum ira ab accepta nuper cladê stimulabat* (*Liv.* x. 5). *Pacis ab insita animi levitate poenituit* (ii. 49).

Tu vero .. mortis. — Compare *Cic. de Orat.* iii. 3.

Excipere—Means to receive something which is expected, or which presents itself to the person who takes it.

Tamquam .. donares. — As if, so far as lay in your power, you wished, by your calmness and serenity, to show that the prince was guiltless.

Filiaeque. — Tacitus's wife. This is a correction for *filioque.* Agricola's sons were both dead.

Ante quadriennium, for *quadriennio ante.* — So, *Multos ante annos*, for *multis annis ante* (*Annal.* xiv. 9). *Multos post annos* (xiv. 12). It appears that Tacitus was absent from Rome at the time of Agricola's death. This may be gathered also from Pliny (*Ep.* vii. 33). The request that Pliny would furnish him with a detailed account of Senecio's suit against Bebius was occasioned by his own absence. He was present, however, at Senecio's death in the year 846, when he returned from the administration of his praetorian province.

Aliquid.—Viz. his daughter and Tacitus.

CHAP. XLVI. — *Et inmortalibus laudibus . . aemulatu decoremus* — Is a correction for *temporalibus laudibus, et si natura suppeditet militum decoramus.*

Famam ac figuram animi. — *Singuli diversas, vel easdem, sed probabiles causas afferentes, formam sui quisque et animi et ingenii reddebant* (*Dial. de Orat.* 1).

Fama rerum. — *i. e.* In history.

NOTES ON THE FIRST BOOK OF THE ANNALS.

CHAP. I.—*Urbem Romam.*—Some editors think the beginning of this chapter to have been purposely constructed in the form of an hexameter verse, because Sallust (*Jug.* 5) has made use of a similar commencement, and Livy has used a hemistich in his preface. But this reason is by no means conclusive. The frequency with which verses, chiefly hexameters, either complete or incomplete, occur in the compositions of even the best prose writers is shown by Drakenb. ad Liv. Praef. A complete hexameter occurs in the oration of Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, p. 275:—Τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον, δι' ὃν εἰς Ἐλάτειαν. See *Cic. De Orat.* iii. 47. *Or.* 56.

Habuere.—"Held," "governed." Compare *c.* 9. iv. 5. xi. 29.

Ad tempus.—This may mean either "occasionally," or "for a time;" either for a short time, as ἐπὶ χρόνον (*Hom. Il.* ii. 199), or for an indefinite time, whenever and as long as seemed necessary, as in this passage and vi. 11. *Liv.* xxviii. 42. In Greek, πρὸς καιρόν. So, *in tempus* (ii. 47), *in dies* (ii. 13).

Neque decemviralis (sc. legibus scribendis) *potestas ultra biennium.. valuit.*—In point of fact, it lasted a few months beyond the two years. But during the last seven months of their power, they maintained themselves by force. Military tribunes, with consular authority, were created from A. U. 310 to 388 though not uninterruptedly. Cinna held the consulship four times, from A. U. 667 to 670. Sulla continued dictator for as many years, from A. U. 672 to 675. He was the first who was invested with the dictatorship for any lengthened period. Caesar was the first who was made perpetual dictator.

Arma.—"The soldiery." As in i. 2. 7. 68. *Hist.* i. 76. ii. 32. iii. 83.

In Augustum cessere.—"Went over to Augustus."

Nomine principis.—He was content with the title of *princeps*, in which there was nothing which savoured of the despot or tyrant; being aware that the names of *king* and *dictator*, since the expulsion of Tarquin and the assassination of Caesar, had become equally odious.

Dio, liv. 1. *Suet. Aug.* 52. Maecenas had advised this course of procedure, with other acts which bore a semblance of respect for the ancient constitution and the liberty of the people. *Dio*, lii. 38. liii. 11. 16. lxvii. 8. Henceforth *principatus* and *principium* were used as equivalent to *imperium.*

Veteris populi Romani. — So, *Prior populus* (xi. 24). *Vetus aetas* (*Agr.* 2). *Prius aevum* (*Hist.* i. 1). *i. e.* The time of the republic before the battle of Actium.

Donec gliscente adulatione deterrerentur. — Since men of high principle and honour will not stoop to flattery, and cannot dispense with it in their writings without danger. Compare *Hist.* i. 1. *Plin. Ep.* iii. 5. *Gliscere* always implies imperceptible or gradual increase. It is only another form of *crescere.* So, Καλύπτω = *κρύπτω*, *φυλάσσω* = *φράσσω*, *ἀλέγω* = *ἀρχέω*, *ἀλαπάζειν* = *ἀρπάζειν*.

Tiberii Caiique et Claudii ac Neronis res. — We have here the limits of the period embraced by the Annals.

Res .. ob metum falsae ;.. compositae sunt. — *Falsae* here belongs to the predicate of the sentence. So, *Vera non probabantur* (xv. 51).

Studio. — " Adulation."

Quorum causas procul habeo. —" The motives for which are too distant to affect me." See *Hist.* i. 1.

Chap. II. — *Bruto et Cassio caesis.* — " By their own hands." *Dio*, xlvii. 46.

Publica arma. — Wars carried on against foreign enemies, under the sanction of the senate and people.

Sextus Pompeius. — The son of Pompey the Great, who had gained the command of the sea. His forces were defeated by Agrippa at Naulochus (*Suet. Aug.* 16). He was taken at Midaeum, and put to death at Miletus (*Dio*, xlix. 1—18. *Vell.* ii. 72—79. *Appian B. C.* v. 118—144).

Exuto. — " Stripped " of his arms and soldiers ; for Octavianus bribed twenty legions to desert from him (*Vell.* ii. 80).

Interfecto Antonio. — By himself (*Suet. Aug.* 17. *Vell.* ii. 87. *Dio*, li. 8).

Caesar. — C. Julius Caesar Octavianus.

Posito triumviri nomine. — This was the only triumvirate which was properly and truly so called : it was a magistracy with supreme authority, with which Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus were invested for

five years by the senate and people. Their full title was *triumviri reipublicae ordinandae.* The other triumvirates of which we read were called so ironically ; for Marius, Sulla, and Cinna—Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus — only privately entered into a league to unite their power, and neither received their authority by any public decree, nor made use of the name *triumviri.*

Tribunicio jure contentum. — But the tribunicial authority was an instrument of great power in the hands of the emperors, as it had been in former times, and was frequently conferred upon them for five years by new decrees, and by them on their colleagues and successors in the government. See *c.* 3. 9, 10. iii. 56. *Dio*, li. 19 ; liii. 17. 32. liv. 12. *Suet. Aug.* 27. *Tib.* ix. 15.

Annona — Is a distribution of corn, either gratuitously or at a low price. Compare xii. 41. *Dio*, li. 21. liii. 2. 28. *Suet. Aug.* 18. 40, 41. *Monum. Ancyr. tab.* 3.

Cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit. — See *Agr.* 21. Augustus shut the temple of Janus three times (*Suet. Aug.* 22).

Munia .. trahere. — At the same time, in accordance with the advice of Maecenas, he retained the names and dignities of the principal magistracies, that the people might be deceived by an empty show of liberty (*c.* i. 3. 7. iv. 6. 19. *Suet. Caes.* 77). The emperors themselves were released from the obligation of most of the laws, though not of all.

Per acies. — Principally through the battles of Philippi and Actium.

Opibus et honoribus extollerentur. — So, *c.* i. 3. vi. 42. *Hor. Od.* I. i. 8. *Opibus* and *honoribus* are ablative cases.

Turbabantur. — "Violated," "deprived of their power."

Chap. III. — *Subsidia dominationi.* — So, *Rector juveni* (i. 24). *Dona templis* (ii. 60). *Causas bello* (ii. 64). Tacitus means — *Ut essent subsidia dominationis si honoribus extollerentur.*

Claudium .. filium. — Augustus had no children beside his daughter Julia.

Admodum adolescentem. — His death took place in the seventeenth year of his age, A. U. 731, in the baths of Baiae ; the suspicion of which fell upon Livia and Augustus himself (ii. 41, *Plin.* vii. 45. *Dio*, liii. 30). *Αἰτίαν μὲν οὖν ἡ Λιουΐα τοῦ θανάτου Μαρκέλλου ἔσχεν ὅτι τῶν υἱέων αὐτῆς προετετίμητο* (*Dio*, liii. 33).

Pontificatu . . extulit. — The office of Pontifex was conferred upon Marcellus by Augustus, as it was upon Nero the son of Germanicus by Tiberius (iii. 29). The emperors from Augustus to Gratianus kept the office of pontifex maximus to themselves. M. Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus, was consul in A. U. 717, 726, 727, and consul suffectus in A. U. 735; prefect of the city from the year 734, and was united with Augustus in the tribunitial power from 736.

Geminatis consulatibus — Is here used, in its proper signification, of the successive consulships which he bore, in A. U. 726 and 727, with Augustus, to whom he was indebted for them. In 717, he was elected by the free votes of the tribes (*Suet. Caes.* 76. *Vell.* ii. 90. 96).

Generum sumpsit. — Julia, who had been betrothed to Marcellus, was given to him in marriage (*Suet. Aug.* 63).

Auxit — *Augeri* is used in a metaphorical sense of persons who receive any increase of dignity, power, wealth, &c. (*Agr.* 6. 25.) *Filiolo me auctum scito* (*Cic. ad Att.* i. 2). In the free ages of the republic, many bore the name of *imperator*, who had either been so saluted by their soldiers, or received the title from the senate, when they had succeeded in any military expedition carried on under their own auspices (iii. 74). But Augustus, as in the case of all the other honours, appropriated this title to himself. In this he was imitated by the other emperors, who took to themselves the glory of any successes gained by their generals or lieutenants, and were accordingly saluted *imperatores* by the soldiers, even in their absence. The title was conferred by them upon but few, and those chiefly of the Augustan family: Junius Blaesus was the last private person on whom it was bestowed. He received it from Tiberius (iii. 14. *Dio*, liv. 33. *Vell.* ii. 125). After that, the emperors alone used the title; and when applied to them, it is prefixed to their names; when applied to a victorious general, it comes after his name, thus:—Imperator Caesar Augustus, M. Tullius Cicero Imperator. The term was first used by Caesar, and afterwards by Augustus (A. U. 725), to imply sovereign command over all the armies and in the city (*Dio*, xliii. 44. liii. 17. *Suet. Caes.* 76).

Domus integra. — So, on the other hand, *domus vacua* (*Sall. Cat.* 15). Δόμος ἡμιτελής (*Hom. Il.* β. 701). *Vacuus* is also applied to provinces without a governor, countries without a king, women without husbands (ii. 76. vi. 34. xiii. 44. *Agr.* xxxii. 40). *Vacuae legiones* (ii. 46) means "legions unoccupied" by war.

Induxerat (sc. adoptione). — Augustus *Caium et Lucium adoptavit domi per assem et libram emptos a patre Agrippa. Tertium nepotem Agrippam simulque privignum Tiberium adoptavit in foro lege curiata* (*Suet. Oct.* 64, 65). There was a twofold method of adopting: the *adoptio*, properly so called, made before the praetor, in which the children were thrice sold by their father, *per aes et libram*, in the same manner as slaves; and the *adrogatio*, by which men who were not under subjection to a father or master, passed into the power and family of another, and took his name and sacrificial duties (*Cic. p. Domo*, 13—15. *Gell.* v. 19), by a law passed in the assembly of the curiae, in presence of the pontifices, and under the emperors by means of their rescripts (*Hist.* i. 15).

Principes juventutis — Was the name anciently given either to the knights whose names were first called over by the censors, when taking the census of the equestrian order, or to those young men whose fathers were conspicuous for wealth or rank (*Ern. Clav. Cic*). After Augustus, this name implied a title to the succession to the throne. Caius was born A. U. 734, Lucius, A. U. 736. *Dio*, liv. 18. *Monum. Ancyr.*

Destinari. — *Designari* is used in the same sense. Compare ii. 36. *Hist.* i. 26.

Agrippa vita concessit. — In A. U. 741. L. Caesar died at Massilia, A. U. 755; Caius at Limyra in Lycia, A. U. 756 (*Dio*, liv. 28. foll. *Suet. Aug.* 65. *Tib.* 15). A monument erected to their memory, on the confines of the Ubii and Treveri, was discovered in the last century. It was situated at a place called Junkerraht.

Novercae Liviae dolus. — Livia was endeavouring to secure the succession to her two sons, Tiberius Nero and Drusus.

Drusoque pridem exstincto. — A. U. 745, in the thirtieth year of his age, in consequence of a fall from his horse.

Filius. — He was adopted by Augustus, A. U. 756 (*Suet. Aug.* 65. *Tib.* 15).

Conlega imperii. — Compare *Vell.* ii. 121. *Suet. Tib.* 21. The circumstances there related took place in A. U. 765. Whether a perpetual proconsular imperium was ever granted to Tiberius may be doubted; at least in the sense in which Augustus first, and Germanicus afterwards, received it (*Dio*, liii. 2).

Consors tribuniciae potestatis (ter) *adsumitur.* — A. U. 748, 757, 766. (*Suet. Aug.* 27. *Tib.* 9. 16).

Ostentatur — Is used in its literal sense; as in *Ut crebro se militibus ostentavisset* (iii. 9).

Nepotem unicum. — After the death of Caius and Lucius. *Agrippa Postumus*, the son of Agrippa and Julia, was born after the death of his father, and adopted by Augustus on the same day as Tiberius (*Suet. Aug.* 64, 65).

Uti .. in insulam Planasiam projiceret. — In A. U. 760, *Planasia*, now *Pianosa*. Instead of Planasia, Suetonius (*Aug.* 65) mentions Surrentum; and the scholiast on Juvenal (vi. 158), Sicily. This *deportatio in insulam*, generally a desert island, was a more severe punishment than the *relegatio*, and involved the loss of liberty, citizenship, and property.

Compertum. — Clearly proved and established. *Ex multis audivi; nam comperisse me non audeo dicere* (*Cic. Ep. ad Div.* v. 5).

Germanicum .. jussit. — Hence Tiberius is frequently called the father, and Drusus the brother, of Germanicus (ii. 43. iv. 4).

Filius juvenis. — Drusus, his son by Agrippina (*Suet. Tib.* 52).

Abolendae magis infamiae. — Genitive case. Compare *Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis* (ii. 59). *Vitandae suspicionis* (iii. 9). *Tuendae libertatis, et firmandae concordiae* (iii. 27).

Juniores. — Those between the ages of seventeen and forty-six were commonly called *juniores, juvenes*, or *adolescentes;* those between forty-six and sixty, *seniores;* and those above sixty, *senes*, and sometimes *seniores*. *Pueri minores* are those under fourteen; *pueri majores*, those between fourteen and eighteen. Marcellus, at the beginning of this chapter, is called *admodum adolescens* when seventeen years old.

CHAP. IV.—*Nulla in praesens formidine.* — This use of the ablative absolute, with the omission of the substantive verb, is common in Tacitus. Thus, *Caede continua* (vi. 29); *continuo otio* (xiii. 54); *obvia rerum similitudine* (iv. 33). *Nullis contra terris* (*Agr.* 10). *Inritis hostibus* (*Agr.* 22).

Seque et domum. — Cicero never uses *que* in the sense of both; Sallust only uses it in this meaning for the purpose of coupling pronouns.

Provecta jam senectus. — For *senex*. So, *Senectutem Tiberii despiciens* (vi. 31). The abstract is frequently thus used for the concrete; as, *matrimonium* for *conjuges* (ii. 13).

Aderatque finis. — Sc. Augusto.

Inminentis . . differebant. — Compare *Juven.* x. 65—89. *Differre* here answers to our English phrase, *to pull to pieces*, used in the sense of handling a person's character rather roughly.

Agrippam. — *i. e.* Agrippa Postumus, the grandson of Augustus.

Maturum annis. — He was fifty-five.

Spectatum bello. — In his expeditions into Germany ; for an account of which, see ii. 26. *Suet. Tib.* 9. 16—20. *Dio*, &c.

Quamquam premantur. — "Whatever endeavours might be made to repress them."

Congestos . . triumphos. — See *Suet. Tib.* 9. 17. 20.

Annis . . egerit. — See *c.* 53. *Suet. Tib.* 10—14. He was there for eight years (A. U. 748—755). Some editors propose to write *exsul* for *exsulem*, saying that *exsulem agere* means only "to feign being an exile." This, however, is not the case ; such phrases as *principem, consulem agere*, are of frequent occurrence, implying the actual performance of the duties attendant upon those stations : *exsul egerit*, however, might very well be used ; as, *Discors agebat* (iii. 38) ; *tanto impensius in securitatem compositus . . per illos dies egit* (iii. 44).

Aliquid. — For *aliud quicquam* ; "anything else."

Meditari.—"To practise," *Virg. Ecl.* vi. 8. 82. *Aen.* x. 455. *Cervi partus fugam meditari docent* (*Plin.* viii. 32).

Duobus . . adolescentibus. — Drusus, the natural son, and Germanicus, the adopted son, of Tiberius.

Interim — Here is equivalent to *aliquando*, or *aliquamdiu.* So, *Pari ignominia Valerius Ponticus adficitur, quod reos . . detulisset, interim specie legum, mox praevaricando ultionem elusurus* (xiv. 41).

Quandoque — Here has the same meaning as *quandocumque*, "some time or other."

CHAP. V. — *Scelus uxoris suspectabant.* — Livia was suspected of having given some poisoned figs to her husband (*Dio*, lvi. 29, 30).

Fabio Maximo. — This was Q. Fabius Maximus Africanus, who was consul in A. U. 742 ; concerning whom and Marcia see *Ovid ex Pont.* i. 2. and iv. 6. 11. Marcia was the daughter of Marcius Philippus, Augustus's stepfather. Plutarch (Περὶ ἀδολεσχίας, p. 508. A.) relates the whole story, but calls Fabius Φούλβιος.

Gnarum id Caesari. — "This became known." This passive use of *gnarus* is only found in Tacitus. So, *Quod gnarum duci* (*c.* 51) ; *in paludem gnaram vincentibus* (*c.* 63) ; *gnarum id Tiberio fuit* (iii. 6).

Ignarus, however, is used passively by Virgil, Ovid, and Sallust. *Ignara lingua* (*Sall. Jug.* 18). *Regio hostibus ignara* (52). For *gnarum*, in this passage, Muretus conjectured *gnatum* to be the true reading.

Quaesita morte. — "By a violent death." *Quaesita* does not determine whether by suicide, or in any other way. Tacitus probably means the latter. So, *exitium sumptum* (iii. 7).

CHAP. VI. — *Inermumque.* — Another form is *inermis.* So, there are two forms, *semermus* and *semermis* (iii. 39), *exanimus* and *exanimis*, *semisomnus* and *semisomnis.*

Quamvis firmatus animo. — "Though he had steeled his breast for the task."

Quandoque. — The same as *quandocunque.*

Duravit. — Sc. *se.*

Nuntianti. — *Renuntianti* would have been the proper word here; and the *re* might have been absorbed by the last syllable of the preceding word; but Tacitus, who imitates the phraseology of the poets, not unfrequently uses simple instead of compound words. Thus, *posuit* (c. 7); *civerat*, for *excitaverat* (xv. 33); *firmare* for *adfirmare* (i. 81. iv. 11. vi. 6); *gravescere*, for *ingravescere* (i. 5); *movere*, for *amovere* (xiv. 32. 60).

Sallustius Crispus — Was the grandnephew of the historian Sallust, and was adopted by him. He was intimate with Augustus; and from him the *aes Sallustianum* received its name (ii. 40. iii. 30).

Codicillos. — "The warrant." Compare *Agr.* 40. *Suet. Tib.* 42. *Claud.* 29.

Subderetur. — *Subdere* is to substitute in an underhand manner. Thus, *Subdere testamentum* (xiv. 30. xv. 44). *Subdito rumore* (vi. 36).

Juxta periculoso. — "It being alike dangerous."

Ficta seu vera promeret. — If he exculpated Tiberius, and took the responsibility upon himself, he ran the risk of being condemned by the senate; if, on the other hand, he accused Tiberius, he would render himself obnoxious to his displeasure.

Ratio constet. — A metaphor from accounts; the phrase, *ratio constat*, is used when the debtor and creditor sides of an account balance one another. *Rationem reddere alicui*, is to lay an account before some one for examination.

CHAP. VII. — *Ne laeti.* — Sc. *Viderentur*, or *essent.* (See p. xlvii.)

Primordio. — "The commencement" of the new reign.

Questus. — "Lamentations" for the death of Augustus.

In verba Tiberii Caesaris juravere. — Took the oath according to the formula dictated by Tiberius. This phrase was originally used of soldiers who swore fidelity to their general. The oath of allegiance spoken of in this passage, was first taken under Julius Caesar, and afterwards under the other emperors, as commanders in chief of all the armies in the empire. The formula of it was,—*Non me liberosque meos cariores habebo quam principem* (*Suet. Caes.* 84. *Cal.* 15. *Dio*, liii. 20). Compare *Sacramentum in nomen Tiberii* (i. 8). *Jurare in Othonem* (*Hist.* i. 76). The *juramentum in acta principum*, spoken of in i. 72. iv. 32, is different; it implied confirming the acts and decrees of the emperors. This oath was first taken upon the death of Julius Caesar, to ratify his acts; and next after the battle of Actium, to honour Augustus. Under the emperors, it was renewed at the commencement of each year. *Dio.* lx. 10.

Seius Strabo. — The father of Aelius Sejanus (*c.* 24). He had the government of Egypt granted to him.

Caius Turranius .. praefectus .. annonae. — He was the first who bore this office. This magistracy was made an ordinary one by Augustus, who held it himself till shortly before his death, when he appointed Turranius (xi. 31. *Suet. Aug.* 37).

Praetoriarum cohortium praefectus. — These prefects were first appointed by Augustus. They were two in number. At this time there was probably no prefect of the city. Taurus Statilius was dead, and Piso was appointed in his room, after an interval of some years.

Tribuniciae potestatis praescriptione. — The tribunes of the people had the power of assembling the senate (*Suet. Tib.* 23).

Posuit. — For *proposuit.* As in iv. 27.

Sub Augusto adceptae. — See *c.* 3.

Consulturum. — Sc. *patres.*

Neque abscedere a corpore. — Ernesti takes *corpus* to mean the funeral rites of Augustus; but on comparing iii. 5, this appears not to be the case; and the tense of the verb *abscedere* prevents our taking it in this sense. The words, *neque abscedere a corpore*, must be looked upon as a parenthesis. Tiberius means to say, that filial respect prevented his leaving the corpse of his parent, and that the assembling of the senate was the only one of the tribunitial or senatorial duties

which he could bring himself to perform. This edict was probably sent from Nola. It was from Nola that the officers were sent to kill Agrippa, and that the mandates were issued to the army.

Signum (or tesseram). — The parole or password. In the time of the emperors, this signum was given by word of mouth. See i. 65. xiii. 2. *Suet. Cal.* 58. *Ner.* 9. Beside these *signa vocalia*, there were *signa demivocalia*, made with the trumpet or horn. Both seem to be referred to in *Intermisso signo et vocibus* (*Hist.* v. 22). Some, however, explain this by means of the figure ἓν διὰ δυοῖν.

Cetera aulae. — The lictors, the fasces bound with laurel, and whatever else served to distinguish the emperor.

Adepto. — Passive. *Comitatus*, *expertus*, *meditatus*, are also found thus used by Tacitus.

Dabat (aliquid) *et famae.*—He allowed report to have some influence with him. *Dare*, *tribuere*, and some other verbs of a similar meaning, are used when speaking of balancing reasons, and assigning to each motive its proper weight.

Per .. ambitum et .. adoptione.—This variation of construction is common in Tacitus. Compare Καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ ἐς τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους ὠφελιμώτερον ἔσεσθαι (*Thuc.* i. 91).

Inductam dubitationem. — *Inducere*, used properly of drawing on a covering or garment, thence acquires the notion of painting or plastering, which, in its turn, has led to the meaning of feigning, or putting on the appearance of anything. Some editors have altered *inductam* in the passage to *indutam*; but that is unnecessary.

CHAP. VIII. — *De supremis.* — Concerning the last duties to be paid to the corpse of Augustus. *Suprema Augusti* may possibly mean the last acts of Augustus.

Per Virgines Vestae. — It was a common practice to deposit wills and other documents of importance, as well as money, in temples, especially in that of Vesta. The treaty between Antony and Augustus was deposited there.

Livia .. adsumebatur. — The imperfect, *adsumebatur*, implies that Augustus had only expressed a desire that she should be adopted. From this time forward, in coins and inscriptions, she is called Julia, not Livia (i. 14. iii. 64. *Ovid. Fast.* i. 532. *Plin.* x. 55).

Legata .. modum. — The legacies did not exceed what might have been looked for from a citizen.

Populo et plebi. — CCCCXXXV (quadringenties tricies quinquies sestertium); i. e. *populo* CCCC, to be deposited in the treasury, and applied to public purposes; *tribubus*, XXXV: there were thirty-five tribes. This latter sum was to be divided amongst the tribes, for them to distribute in whatever way they chose. *Dio*, lvi. 32.

Legionariis .. dedit. — The manuscript reading here is *legionariis aut cohortibus.* This, on the authority of the best editors, has been altered in the text to *leg.* CCC, *cohortibus civium Romanorum* CCCCC. Compare Suetonius (*Aug.* 101), *Legavit.. cohortibus urbanis quingenos, legionariis trecenos nummos.* It is maintained, however, on the other hand, that *aut* is an abbreviation of *autem*, and that *cohortes civium Romanorum* can hardly mean anything but cohorts composed of Roman citizens: that the *cohortes urbanae* were merely cohorts placed to guard Rome, under the command of the Praefectus urbis; and that they are never called *cohortes civium Romanorum.*

Ex quis .. censuere. — There is something faulty in this sentence. As it stands, the clauses beginning with *ut* would depend upon both *visi* and *censuere*; which cannot be tolerated. Some take *visi* to be equivalent to *placuere*; but the word will hardly bear that meaning: such an expression as *id dis visum est* is not parallel. Others alter *visi* to *jussi*, or introduce *ut* before the names Gallus Asinius and L. Arruntius. Kiessling proposes *ex quibus qui.*

Gallus Asinius. — When the praenomen is omitted, the cognomen is commonly put first, if there are several of the same family who require to be distinguished.

Addebat. — The imperfect marks only the attempt. The *sacramentum in nomen* is equivalent to the *sacramentum in verba*, though it is not exactly the same thing. The latter implies that the imperator dictated the words of the oath; the former, merely that his name was inserted in it. The soldiers renewed their oath of allegiance to their general every year.

Ea sola .. supererat. — This was the only form of flattery which had not been exhausted.

Remisit. — *Remittere*, in its original sense, implies *letting go*, or *letting loose*, a cord that has been tightly stretched. Here it implies that after a show of resistance, Tiberius suffered himself to be prevailed upon to grant their wishes.

In campo Martis. — Appian (*B. C.* i. 106) says, that Sulla was the first whose corpse was carried on the shoulders of senators, and buried

in the Campus Martius. Augustus, in his sixth consulate, erected a mausoleum in the Campus Martius, between the bank of the Tiber and the Via Flaminia (*Strabo* v. 3. *Suet. Aug.* 84. 100. *Appian B. C.* i. 103—106. Compare *Annal.* iii. 4).

Diem illum .. repetitae. — "That memorable day, when the wound of slavery had not yet healed, and the recovery of liberty had been attempted without success."

Occisus .. Caesar. — i. e. *Occisio ejus.* Compare *Occisus Augusti pronepos* (i. 42).

CHAP. IX. — *Idem dies .. supremus.* — Most authors reckon the reign of Augustus to commence with the battle of Actium, Sept. 2, A. U. 723 ; some from his seventh consulate, when the imperium was confirmed to him by the senate, and the cognomen of Augustus given to him, A. U. 727 ; on the 13th of January, according to Ovid (*Fast.* i. 587) ; the 6th, according to Orosius (vi. 20) ; the 17th, according to Censorinus (*De Die Nat.* 21) ; or, more probably, on the 7th, as appears from an inscription at Narbonne. Others reckon his reign from his first consulate, August 19, A. U. 711 (*Dial. de Orat.* 17. *Dio*, xlvi. 32. foll. 51. *Suet. Aug.* 8. 26. 31. Compare *Monum. Ancyr*).

Numerus .. aequaverat. — C. Marius was consul seven, and M. Val. Corvus six, times. Augustus was consul thirteen times. His thirteenth consulate was in B. C. 2.

Continuata .. potestas. — He received it June 27, A. U. 731, and held it for thirty-six years and nearly two months (*Dio*, liii. 32).

Parentem. — J. Caesar.

Necessitudine. — *Necessitas* is properly applied to the compulsion ; *necessitudo*, to the state of restraint in which a person is placed by this compulsion : the words, however, are frequently confounded. *Necessitudo* has its proper signification in xii. 3. 9. 46 : it is used for *necessitas* in *peccandi necessitudo* (iii. 40) ; *necessitudo legis* (iv. 20) ; *necessitudo pugnae* (xii. 30). *Necessitas* frequently denotes the effect or result of compulsion. *Necessitas senatoria* (xi. 4), *i. e.* what his office of senator compelled him to say. *Necessitas ultima*, or *extrema* (xv. 61. *Hist.* i. 3). *Necessitates*, *i. e. Sumptus necessarii* (i. 11). *Necessitatum causas* (*Suet. Tib.* 47).

Dum .. ulcisceretur. — *Dum* marks the condition upon which these concessions were made.

Senuerit. — *Senescere* implies the loss of strength and vigour.

Mari oceano. — *Oceanus* is sometimes used as an adjective. *Mare oceanum* (*Caes. B. G.* iii. 7).

Amnibus longinquis. — The Euphrates, Danube, and Rhine.

CHAP. X. — *Consulis legiones.* — The fourth legion and the *legio Martia*, belonging to the consul Antonius (*Cic. Phil.* iv. 2).

Abstulerat. — When nouns of different numbers and genders form the subject of a sentence, the number and gender of the predicate are commonly determined by those of the nearest noun of the subject. So, *Si quos spes meae, si quos propinquus sanguis, etiam quos invidia erga viventem movebat* (ii. 71).

Adceperit. — Muretus conjectured *adceperat.* The pluperfect would be the more usual construction (though we have *invaserit* just before); but the indicative mood would make it a direct assertion on the part of Tacitus.

Fecere. — The reading in the editions varies between *fecere* and *cepere.* The former appears to have the authority of the MS. Muretus found *caepere* in some ancient copies, and from Suetonius (*Oct.* 13), *Neque veteranorum .. quaerentibus,* conjectured *cepere.* But the partition of the lands would hardly have been displeasing to the veterans; and the words *ne ipsis ..fecere* should probably be taken as referring likewise to the *proscriptionem civium.*

Tarentino Brundisinoque foedere. — The treaty of Brundisium was concluded some years before that of Tarentum. The treaty of Brundisium, between Octavianus and Antony, was made after the capture of Perusia, upon the death of Fulvia, B. C. 40. Octavia was then given in marriage to Antony, and the provinces of the East were assigned to him. The treaty of Tarentum was brought about by the efforts of Octavia, Agrippa, and Maecenas, when, three years afterwards, disputes had again arisen between Octavianus and Antony. Antony furnished Caesar with one hundred ships for his war with Sextus Pompeius, and received in return two legions for the Parthian war (*Dio*, xlviii. 54).

Lollianas .. clades. — This took place B. C. 16, in Westphalia. At a place now called Lolle, ancient coins are still found. Lollius was the tutor of young C. Caesar. *M. Lollius infamatus spoliis provinciarum regumque muneribus in toto oriente, interdicta amicitia a C. Caesare*

Augusti filio, venenum bibit, ut neptis ejus (Lollia Paulina) *quadringenties* HS *operta spectaretur ad lucernas (Plin.* ix. 58). Compare *Hor. Od.* iv. 9.

Varianasque clades. — See notes on *c.* 3.

Varrones. — The plural is frequently used in this rhetorical way for the singular. See *Agric.* 5. 15. 31, 32. Licinius Varro Murena entered into a conspiracy with M. Egnatius Rufus (*Suet. Aug.* 19. 56. *Tib.* 8. *Dio,* liii. 24. liv. 3. *Strabo,* xiv. p. 670). He is sometimes called *Terentius Varro Murena;* his sister, who was married to Maecenas is called sometimes *Terentia,* sometimes *Licinia.*

Julios. — Julius Antonius, the son of the triumvir by Fulvia, was consul B. C. 10. He married Marcella, the daughter of Octavia ; but having been accused of adultery with Julia, and of aiming at the sovereignty, he was killed B. C. 2 ; according to Tacitus and Dio (lv. 10), by the command of Augustus; but according to Velleius (ii. 100), by his own hand.

Nihil deorúm .. vellet. — Tacitus here alludes to the *templum* and *caelestes religiones,* as we may see from the words *per flamines et sacerdotes.* If he had meant the divine honours paid to Augustus in the provinces and in Italy, by his permission, during his lifetime, he would have used *voluerit. In urbe quidem pertinacissime abstinuit hoc honore (Suet. Aug.* 52. *Dio,* li. 20. lvi. 46). Augustus was very fond of being looked upon as a son of Apollo, or even as Apollo himself (*Suet. Aug.* 94). In Asia Minor, he was worshiped under the name of *Lunus* (a contraction of *Lucinus*).

Per flamines et sacerdotes. — Women also bore the office of priestess to Augustus. In Gruter (p. 320, 10), there is an inscription:—P. POSTVMIAE. P.F. PAVLLAE. SACERD. D. IVLI. AVGVST. ; and again (p. 101, 3) LVCR. L. F. CAMPANA. FLAM. PERP. DOMVS. AVG. ; i. e. *Lucretia L. filia, Flaminica perpetua.* Livia was appointed priestess to her husband by a decree of the senate.

Effigie numinum. — With a statue representing him as a divine being.

Habitus. — "Carriage," "bearing." *Incedebat cervice rigida et obstipa ; adducto fere vultu, plerumque tacitus : nullo aut rarissimo etiam cum proximis sermone, eoque tardissimo, nec sine molli quadam digitorum gesticulatione (Suet. Tib.* 68). *Cultus.*—"Dress and personal habits." *Instituta.*—"Principles."

Chap. XI. — *Templum et caelestes religiones.* — Καὶ αὐτῷ (Αὐγούστῳ) ἔν τε τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἡρῷον ψηφισθὲν μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας, οἰκοδομηθὲν δὲ ὑπό τε τῆς Λιουΐας καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐποιήθη, καὶ ἄλλοθι πολλαχόθι (*Dio*, lvi. 46. *Ovid de Ponto*, iv. 6. 17). In the *Calendarium Amiterninum*, these *caelestes honores* are said to have been decreed on the 19th of September.

Sua modestia. — "His own moderate talents." Compare *Hist.* iii. 70.

Ad effigiem Augusti. — This was in the palace on the Palatine hill, in which the senate assembled. See ii. 37.

Libellum. — Suetonius calls it *rationarium*, or *breviarium imperii* (*Suet. Aug.* 28. 101).

Recitarique. — By Drusus (*Dio*, lvi. 33).

Tributa. —"Taxes upon persons and property." *Vectigalia.* —" Money raised by the customs, tithes, and letting of the public lands." (*Ern. Clav. Cic.*) *Necessitates.* —" Necessary public expenses." Livy (xxiii. 48) uses the word in the same sense.

Terminos. — The Euphrates, the Ister, the Rhine, and the ocean.

Metu. — According to Dio (lvi. 33), Augustus himself expressed a fear that, in attempting to extend their conquests, they might lose what had been already acquired.

Chap. XII. — *Quam partem reip.* — Tiberius made a threefold division of it: the first section comprising Rome and Italy; the second, the armies; the third, the provinces (*Dio*, lvii. 2).

Asinius Gallus. — The son of C. Asinius Pollio, the friend of Augustus and Horace, who was praefect of Gaul in B. C. 42, consul in B. C. 40, and proconsul in B. C. 39. He was likewise an orator, a poet, and an historian, and wrote a history of the civil wars, and was the first who built a public library (*Dial. de Orat.* 12. 15. 17. *Hor. Od.* ii. 1). The children of Pollio were, Herius Asinius, Asinia, and C. Asinius Gallus, who was consul B. C. 8. He wrote a work comparing his father and Cicero, which was answered by the emperor Claudius (*Plin. Ep.* vii. 4. *Suet. Claud.* 41). He married Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa (who had previously been married to Tiberius, and was the mother of Drusus (*Suet. Tib.* 7), and had five sons: *M. Asinius Agrippa*, consul in A. D. 25; *C. Asinius Saloninus* (*Serv. ad Virg. Ecl.* iv. 1. *Tac. Annal.* iii. 75); *C. Asinius*

Gallus, whose son, L. Asinius Gallus, was consul in A. D. 63 ; *C. Asinius Pollio*, consul in A. D. 23 ; and *Asinius Celer*. For some account of Asinius Gallus, see i. 13. 76. ii. 32, 33. 35. iv. 20. 30. 71. i. 77. iii. 11. vi. 25. 23.

Perculsus. — Ἐκπλαγείς. Ernesti's alteration, *percussus*, is quite unnecessary.

Reticuit. — *Reticere* implies keeping back something that you have to say.

Addidit laudem de Augusto. — *De* should be taken with *addidit*, not with *laudem*.

In toga. — "In a civil capacity." Compare xi. 7.

Ideo. — "Thus." Compare *c.* 72. iv. 26.

CHAP. XIII. — *Post quae.* — Tacitus frequently uses the relative in this manner. Cicero or Livy would have used *postea*. Compare *c.* 12, 13. 15. 75.

L. Arruntius. — A person of this name was consul in B. C. 22, and is mentioned by Pliny as a writer of celebrity. It is his son who is mentioned here, who was consul in A. D. 6, and was an orator and historian. He killed himself in A. D. 37.

Promptus. — "Enterprising." Compare iv. 7. *Agr.* 3.

Publice — Should be taken with *pari fama*. "In the opinion of all."

M. Aemilius Lepidus. — Son of Aemilius Paulus ; was consul A. D. 6. Velleius (ii. 114) calls him : *Vir nomini ac fortunae Aemiliorum proximus ; quem in quantum quis aut cognoscere aut intelligere potuit, in tantum miratur ac diligit, tantorumque nominum, quibus ortus est, ornamentum judicat.* Some editors have erroneously substituted here the name of *Manius Aemilius Lepidus*, the son of Q. Lepidus, who was consul A. D. 11, and afterwards proconsul of Asia ; a man of no wealth, and of bad character. He is spoken of in iii. 22. 32. iv. 56, and Dio (lvi. 25). The mother of the former was Cornelia, the daughter of Cornelius Scipio and Scribonia ; of the latter, Cornelia the daughter of Faustus Sulla and Pompeia.

Avidum et minorem. — *Et* is frequently thus used where we should have expected *sed*. Compare *Jucundum et laesurum* (*Hist.* iii. 56). *Nequaquam trepidus et consilii certus* (*Hist.* ii. 46). *Praescium periculorum et incolumem* (vi. 21). *Et* is sometimes used by Tacitus for *et tamen*, or *sed tamen*. See *Agr.* 3. 15.

Cn. Pisonem. — He was consul in B. C. 23, with Augustus ; and

again in B. C. 7, with Tiberius, who, in A. D. 17, made him governor of Syria.

Genua advolveretur. — There is a tendency to put the dative after middle verbs; but *advolvi* seems to have come to signify nothing more than "to embrace." Compare iv. 81. vi. 49. xv. 71.

CHAP. XIV.—*Ne lictorem quidem.*—See, *Decreti et a senatu* Agrippinae *duo lictores* (xiii. 2). Livia was allowed, however, to employ a lictor when she acted as priestess of Augustus (*Dio*, lvi. 46).

Aramque adoptionis. — This must be referred to the adoption of Livia (*c.* 8). Altars were frequently thus erected to perpetuate the memory of some remarkable event. Thus *Caecina Severus censuit aram Ultioni* (iii. 18).

Proconsulare imperium. — Tacitus means a perpetual proconsular imperium, which gave the young prince a title to the throne. So Nero, *Proconsulare imperium extra urbem habebat* (xii. 41). Three years before this, in A. D. 11, Germanicus had been invested with the proconsular imperium for carrying on war, before he had filled the office of consul (*Dio*, lvi. 25).

Candidatos .. nominavit. — The first praetor, Furius Camillus, was created in A. U. 388 (*Liv.* vii. 1). In 510, a second was added, with the title of *peregrinus*, as his office was principally to decide disputes between citizens and strangers (*Epit. Liv.* xix). Two more were added in 520, when Sicily and Sardinia were reduced to the form of provinces, who were sent thither as governors. Two more in 557, on the conquest of Spain. Four out of these six praetors were sent to the provinces. This continued to be the case till the year 605, when it was decreed by the senate that the praetors should remain in the city during their year of office, and that two should administer justice in the ancient mode, while the other four presided in the courts of justice; then, on the expiration of their office, they were all sent by lot to the praetorian provinces. Cornelius Sulla increased their number to eight; which continued to the time of Cicero. J. Caesar was the first who created ten (*Dio*, xlii. 51). Two years afterwards, he raised the number to fourteen, and the next year to sixteen (*Dio*, xliii. 19). In A. U. 731, Augustus reduced the number to ten (*Dio*, liii. 32. *Vell.* ii. 89). In 764, however, he created sixteen, on account of the number of competitors; but in the succeeding years he again reduced the number to twelve (*Dio*, lvi. 25).

Jurejurando .. excessurum. — In A. U. 736, however, he created fifteen. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη συνέβη, ὥστε ἔστι μὲν ὅτι ἑκκαίδεκα, ἔστι δὲ ὅτι καὶ παρ' ἕνα, ἢ καὶ δύο χειροτονεῖσθαι (*Dio*, lviii. 20). Tacitus (ii. 32) explains this by saying, — *Praeturae extra ordinem datae.*

CHAP. XV. — *Tum primum .. sunt.* — *Summota e foro seditio, ambitio campo* (*Vell.* ii. 126). *Apud quos* (patres) *etiam tum cuncta tractabantur* (*Annal.* iv. 15). Hence Tacitus (xi. 13. *Hist.* iv. 47) uses the phrase *legem ferre* incorrectly.

Tenuit. — "Clung to the privilege conferred upon them."

Ludos .. vocarentur. — During the lifetime of Augustus, games had been celebrated in his honour (*Suet. Oct.* 57. 59). On his return from Greece and Sicily, in B. C. 19, Augustus allowed—Τύχῃ τε ἐπαναγώγῳ βωμὸν ἱδρυθῆναι, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἣν ἀφίξοιτο ἔν τε ταῖς ἱερομηνίαις ἀριθμεῖσθαι, καὶ Αὐγουστάλια ὀνομάζεσθαι (*Dio*, liv. 10). The purport of this request of the tribunes was, that similar games might be continued and repeated after his death, and as if consecrated to a god, inserted in the Fasti, and celebrated yearly. Hence Dio (lvi. 46), after noticing other honours conferred upon Augustus after his decease, adds that a decree was made,—Ὅπως τὰ Αὐγουστάλια οἱ δήμαρχοι, ὡς καὶ ἱεροπρεπεῖς ὄντες, διατιθῶσι, κ. τ. λ. See *Annal.* i. 54.

Utque. — This sentence depends upon *decretum est;* which must be understood from *decreta.* Compare *Decernuntur supplicationes .. utque* (xiv. 12). *Noscenda vulgi natura et quibus modis,* &c. (iv. 33.)

Veste .. curru. — The *toga picta,* and the triumphal chariot, were used by the consuls and praetors (*Juv.* x. 36. xi. 192. *Dio,* lvi. 46).

Annua. — The MS. reading is *annum,* which gives no sense. Some alter this to *annua,* others to *annuum;* the former is the better correction. The praetors would be elected annually as a matter of course; and the position of the word would render *annuum* unnecessarily emphatic.

CHAP. XVI. — *Licentiam turbarum .. ostendebat.* — "Seemed to promise impunity for disturbances."

Ob justitium [*aut gaudium*]. — The *justitium* was on account of the death of Augustus, the *gaudium* on account of the accession of Tiberius. Muretus, Wolf, and other critics, suppose the words *aut gau-*

dium to be an interpolation. With regard to the use of *aut*, compare *Insignem perfidia in nos aut fide* (c. 55). *Aut* frequently has this distributive force, *Magna vis armata aut incondita* (iv. 47). *Quantum aerario aut fisco pendebant* (ii. 47).

Eo principio. — Some interpreters take *eo* by itself, in the sense of *ideo*; as in vi. 16. *Germ.* 20. 28. 41. 44. *Agr.* 16. 22. 28.

Theatralium operarum. — The term *operae* is applied to men hired for any purpose. So the gladiators employed by Clodius are called *Clodianae operae* (*Cic. ad Att.* i. 13, 14. iv. 3). The *operae theatrales* were persons hired to back some particular actor, and hiss the others. Frequent disturbances arose in the theatre from the contests of rival parties of these *operae*. See c. 77. xi. 13. xiii. 24, 25. *Plaut. Prol. Amphitr.* 65. 82.

CHAP. XVII. — *Paucis centurionibus, paucioribus tribunis.* — In every legion there were sixty centurions and six tribunes. A legion contained ten cohorts, thirty maniples, and sixty centuries.

Tricena aut quadragena stipendia. — Formerly the regular period for military service was ten years for the cavalry, and sixteen or twenty for the infantry; and one who had served that number of years, between the ages of seventeen and forty-six or fifty, was called *emeritus*, or *veteranus* (*Liv.* iii. 71. xxvii. 11. xlii. 31. 33, 34). But in the year B. C. 13, Augustus fixed the period of service for the praetorian soldiers at twelve, and for the rest at sixteen years. Seventeen years afterwards, the term was altered to sixteen years in the case of the former, and twenty in that of the latter. Percennius here exaggerates the length of their service.

Retentos. — This is only a conjectural reading. In the MS. there is a *t* at the end of one line, and *tentes* at the beginning of the next. Some read *tendentes*, and this word is applied to soldiers in a tent (*tendentes tentoria*).

Alio vocabulo. — They were called *vexillarii.* See notes on *Agr.* c. 18. p. 211.

Adhuc. — "Besides," "in addition to this." The word is used in the same sense in iii. 42. *Germ.* 10. 29. 38.

Denis in diem assibus. — In the first ages of the republic, the soldiers served at their own charges; in A. U. 347, it was decreed that they should receive pay from the public treasury (*Liv.* iv. 59). This amounted, at first, to two obols, or three asses and a third a day.

(Niebuhr, *Hist. of Rome*, iii. p. 439. transl.) The centurions received twice, and the cavalry three times, that sum (*Polyb.* vi. 39). J. Caesar doubled the pay of the soldiers (*Suet. Caes.* 26).

Hinc vestem, arma, tentoria emi. — From this it would appear that, when the pay of the soldiers was doubled, the law of Gracchus, ordaining that clothes should be given gratis to the soldiers, was abrograted. Lampridius, however, says, *Donavit, et ocreas, et braccas, et calciamenta inter vestimenta militaria* (*Alex.* c. 40). *Qui acceptam a provincialibus annonam, qui vestem, qui stipendia vobis attribuit* (c. 53). This would imply that the law of Gracchus on this point was revived by some of the succeeding emperors. They had, however, to provide themselves with arms (*Liv.* i. 43). *Arma illos* (Romanos) *habere ea quae sibi quisque paraverit pauper miles* (xlii. 52). Compare xxii. 57.

Ut singulos denarios mererent. — The denarius was originally ten pounds of *aes* (bronze). In the time of the second Punic war, when the *as* was only an ounce, the denarius was equivalent to sixteen asses ; and the sestertius, which was two and a half asses when the denarius was ten asses, still maintained its proportion to the denarius, and was valued at four asses. After the reign of Augustus, the value of the denarius was twelve asses. In the case of the soldiers, however, the denarius retained its original value ; though their pay was nominally a denarius a day, they only received ten asses. *Semper in militari stipendio denarius pro decem assibus datus* (*Plin.* xxxiii. 3).

Binos denarios. — Dio (liii. 11) says that the senate decreed — Τοῖς δορυφορήσουσιν αὐτὸν διπλάσιον τὸν μισθὸν τοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιώταις διδομένου. According to this, they received twenty asses a day. Either, then, Percennius uses the word *denarius* according to the military valuation, and therefore in a sense different from that which it bore in the previous sentence, or else intended his auditors to understand him as speaking of the ordinary denarius, in order to make the matter more flagrant. It is probable, also, that though their legal pay was twenty asses, the emperor allowed them two ordinary denarii.

Post sedecim annos. — Augustus, when obliged to court the favour of the praetorian soldiers, fixed the term for military service at twelve years in their case, and sixteen in that of others (*Dio.* liv. 25). But in A. U. 758, the time was altered to sixteen years in the former case, and twenty in the latter ; and at the same time their pay was increased (*Dio*, lv. 23).

CHAP. XVIII. — *Diversis incitamentis.* — "Using various means to excite their comrades"

Eo furoris .. agitaverint. — This would have been an act of impiety: the signa were objects of religious reverence (see *c.* 39), and at night were placed in a kind of temple. And, besides, the throwing away of their standards would have been a violation of their military oath, by which they bound themselves never to desert them. *Cur contra fas disciplinae vim meditarent* (*c.* 19).

Signa cohortium. — There is a dispute whether we are here to understand the standards of the maniples, or are to suppose that the cohorts had standards distinct from those of the maniples. In former ages, when the army was drawn up by maniples, without any distinction of cohorts, of course there were no standards for the cohorts. But when it became the custom to arrange the legion by cohorts, standards to mark the different maniples would be unnecessary. Hence Vegetius (ii. 13) mentions the standards of the legion and cohorts, but says nothing of any standards for the maniples; and Germanicus (*c.* 34), when bidding the soldiers depart to their maniples, orders — *Signa praeferri, ut id saltem discerneret cohortes.* So, *Hist.* i. 41. 44, and in other passages, Tacitus speaks of these standards in such a way as to show that they served to distinguish the cohorts, not the maniples.

Congerunt cespites. — To form a tribunal.

Sedes. — The place for the speakers to address them from.

Properantibus .. adcelerabo. — It was allowable for the commander-in-chief alone to address the soldiers from the tribunal.

CHAP. XIX. — *Pectori .. adcreverat.* — Tacitus frequently uses the dative, where other writers would have used *ad* with the accusative. *Equi venatui adornati* (xii. 13). *Tempora obtentui sumpta* (i. 10). *Viae pariter et pugnae composuerat exercitum* (xiii. 40). *Spei tuae admotus sum* (xiv. 53). *Saevitiae principis adrepit* (i. 74).

Pervicacia. — The importunity of Blaesus.

Provenissent. — "Had succeeded." *Prima provenerant* (iv. 12). *Quae facilius proveniebant* (xiv. 25).

Obtinuissent. — For *Obtinere potuissent.* See *Agr.* 17, note.

CHAP. XX. — *Nauportus.* — A town of Pannonia, on a river of the same name, now *Laibach*, the chief town of Carniola.

Convellunt. — It is doubtful whether this means *tear to pieces*, or *to*

tear up from the ground; the latter is probably the meaning. *Evellere* is the word commonly used for *to tear up.*

Praefectum castrorum. — This officer is not spoken of before the times of the emperors. His duties are described by Vegetius (ii. 10).

Intentus operis. — The MS. has *intus*, which makes no sense. Many editors suggest *vetus* as a correction; others *intentus*, supposing a syllable to have dropped out, just as *tentes*, in c. 17, is supposed by some to be a corruption of *tendentes*. *Vetus operis* would imply that he had for a long time endured great toil, and was doing so still; which meaning does not suit this passage. *Intentus operis ac laboris* is tranlated, — *who looked sharp after the labour of the soldiers. Intentus operi* would imply that he was himself engaged in the labour.

CHAP. XXI. — *Centuriam .. cujus manipularis erat.* — *Manipularis* was the term usually employed for *a common soldier.* Thus, *Rufus diu manipularis* (c. 20). *Infimos manipularium* (ii. 55).

Nihil reliqui faciunt. — This is equivalent to *Nihil praetermittunt.* Compare *Caes. B. G.* ii. 26. *Sall. Cat.* 11.

Faciunt .. permoverent. — The historic present is very commonly followed by the imperfect subjunctive in this way. *Arma praecipitantur quo levarentur alvei* (ii. 23). *Mittit qui praedam adveherent* (xvi. 2).

Sibi jam miscent. — *Jam* denotes that the mutiny had at last reached such a pitch, that they even allowed deserters and criminals to join them.

CHAP. XXII. — *De communibus commodis.* — The common interests of the German and Pannonian armies.

Gladiatores. — *Edixit Caesar, " ne quis magistratus aut procurator, qui provinciam obtineret, spectaculum gladiatorum aut ferarum aut quod aliud ludicrum ederet." Nam ante non minus tali largitione quam corripiendis pecuniis subjectos adfligebant* (xiii. 31). These gladiators, too, might serve as a sort of body-guard, to protect the general against the violence of the soldiers, which perhaps explains what follows: *quos .. armat.*

Ubi .. abjeceris. — See note on *Agr.* 38. p. 233. *Unde .. redierat.* The *ubi*, perhaps, gives greater prominence to the *abjeceris*. He begins as if he were going to say *jaceat;* but introduces the stronger word, *abjeceris.*

Sepultura invident.—We should have expected the accusative; but the ablative is not unfrequent. *Invideo aliis bono quo ipse careo* (*Plin. Ep.* i. 10). *Huic pietatis titulos invidere* (*Id.* iii. 8). *Ne spectaculo quidem proelii invidere* (*Germ.* 33). *Si antiquum sermonem nostro comparemus, paene jam quicquid loquimur figura est, ut* hac re invidere, *non ut omnes veteres et Cicero,* hanc rem (*Quintil.* ix. 3. 1). So in Greek, Μηδέ μοι τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ ταφῆς φθονήσῃς (*Dio*, li. 12). *Interdico* is used in a similar manner. *Interdico tibi igni,* "I deny you the use of fire." Compare *Perizon. ad Sanct. Minerv.* iii. 3. 80. p. 485.

Dum. — For *Dum modo.*

Hi. — This is the reading of Muretus and Lipsius. The MS. has *ii.*

CHAP. XXIII. — *Ni propere .. aberant.* —We frequently find the imperfect indicative used in this way. Compare, *Parabant ni .. interjecisset,* a little further on; *Deferebat in pectus ni .. adtinuissent* (*c.* 35). This imperfect is not affected by the *ni* which follows. We must supply in English, "And would have done so," or something of the kind. "He had already raised his sword, and was proceeding to plunge it into his bosom, when," &c.

Cui .. indiderant. — So Aurelian received the nickname of *Manu ad ferrum,* and Paulus Notarius that of *Catena* (*Vopisc. Aur.* 6. *Ammian.* xiv. 5. 8).

CHAP. XXIV. — *Tum .. aderant.* — After the defeat of Varus, Augustus had dismissed his German guards; but it appears that Tiberius had again taken them into his service (*Suet. Aug.* 49).

Periculorum praemiorumque ostentator.—Pointing out what dangers would await the rebellious, and what rewards would be bestowed upon those who returned to their duty.

Neque insignibus fulgentes. — On festive occasions they anointed their standards, and adorned them with laurel and flowers. *Laetaturque tamen: Mavortia signa rubescunt Floribus, et subitis animantur frondibus hastae* (*Claudianus*, x. 187). See *Suet. Claud.* 13. *Aquilae certe ac signa .. inunguntur etiam festis diebus* (*Plin.* xiii. 4). The omission of this practice was a token of distress; at the funeral of Germanicus *Praecedebant incompta signa* (iii. 2). The term *insignia* here includes also the arms and ornaments of the soldiers.

CHAP. XXV. — *Rettulerant.* — The two *t*'s arise from a contraction of the old form *retetulerant.*

Atrox .. quies. — *Clamor saepe repens et saepe silentio fixis in tellurem oculis* (*Silius*, x. 396). Lipsius reads *repens* instead of *repente.*

CHAP. XXVI. — *Numquamne nisi ad se .. venturos?* — Lipsius altered this to *Nunquamne ad se nisi*, &c. The alteration is unnecessary; the Pannonian legions complain that they alone are thus slighted.

CHAP. XXVII. — *Ut quis obcurreret.* — Cicero would, no doubt, have used *occurrerat.* But Tacitus frequently uses the subjunctive where other writers use the indicative. *Quotiens per urbes incederet* (ii. 2)..

Manus intentantes .. armorum. — *i. e.* "Thrusting their fists into his face, as the cause of their disagreement and their being compelled to appeal to arms."

Cn. Lentulo.—His full name was *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Cossus Gaetulicus.* He was consul A. U. 753. His son of the same name, a poet and historian, who was consul in A. U. 779, was put to death by Caligula, after having been governor of Germany for ten years. Cn. Lentulus, the augur (mentioned in iii. 59) was a different person.

Provisu periculi. — "In anticipation of the danger."

CHAP. XXVIII. — *Noctem .. lenivit.* — We frequently have *nox*, *tempus*, *dies*, &c. used for the events which take place in them. Compare *Speculati noctem incustoditam* (ii. 40). *Tempus egregium vita famaque .. occultum et subdolum* (vi. 51).

Nam luna .. languescere. — According to the calculations of Petavius, this eclipse happened Sept. 26, A. D. 14.

Id miles .. prospereque cessura.—Some editors strike out *ac.* Others alter it to *hanc.* Neither correction is necessary. *Ac* unites the two members, *rationis ignarus* and *suis lab. def. sid. adsimulans.* There is an anacoluthia in this sentence, as it terminates suddenly at *redderetur;* unless, indeed, we understand the verb from, *omen praesentium adcepit.* "This the soldiers took as an omen of their present circumstances, *and considered it to portend* that the objects they were aiming at would turn out prosperously."

Omen adcepit. — This may mean either "took as an omen," or

"accepted the omen." It was imagined that omens were fulfilled, or averted, according as those who beheld them declared that they did or did not accept the omen. See ii. 13. *Hist.* i. 62. *Cic. de Div.* i. 46. ii. 40.

Quae pergerent. — "Which they were aiming at." *Pergere* is used with the accusative, just as *festinare* (iv. 28. vi. 40. 44. 50. &c.) *Maturare* (xii. 41. xv. 59). *Properare.* (i. 18. ii. 6. &c.) There is nothing surprising in *pergo* being used with an accusative when we remember that it is a compound of *per* and the transitive verb *rego.* Such phrases as *id laetor, id gratulor*, are common enough.

Aeris sono,.. strepere. — *Cum aeris crepitu, qualis in defectu lunae silenti nocte cieri solet (Liv.* xxvi. 5). *Jam nemo tubas nemo aera fatiget: Una laboranti poterit succurrere lunae (Juv. Sat.* vi. 442). Maximus, bishop of Turin, wrote a discourse expressly against this practice, which was still kept up in his day.

Aversari. — There is a dispute whether *adversari*, or *aversari*, is the reading. It makes very little difference in the sense of the passage. *Adversari* is used sometimes with the dative, as in *c.* 27. ii. 67. iv. 37, sometimes with the accusative, as in *Hist.* i. 1. 38. iv. 84.

Vigiliis, stationibus, custodiis. — The abstracts for the concretes. The *stationes* consisted each of one cohort and a troop of cavalry, and were posted at the several gates of the camp. They were changed at mid-day (*Liv.* xlv. 33).

Ut novissimi in culpam. — We must suppose this to be addressed to the *tirones*, who had been urged on by the veterans.

CHAP. XXIX.— *E cohorte Drusi.* — Of the suite of Drusus. Elsewhere they are called *comites*, or *contubernales.* They consisted of the private friends or relations of the general, or of young men of rank, whom he took with him on his own account. There were often different grades among these *comites*. *Comites peregrinationum expeditionumque numquam salario, cibariis tantum sustentavit: una modo liberalitate ex indulgentia vitrici prosecutus, cum tribus classibus factis pro dignitate cujusque, primae sescenta sestertia, secundae quadringenta distribuit, ducenta tertiae, quam non amicorum, sed gratorum appellabat (Suet. Tib.* 46). Compare vi. 9. iii. 13.

Justusque Catonius. — Probably the person who was praetorian prefect in the reign of Claudius, and was put to death through the intrigues of Messalina *Dio*, lx. 18.

Extra vallum. — Executions took place outside the camp, behind the *porta decumana;* just as outside the walls of cities. *Sic extra vallum deducti sunt, et cruciabiliter interfecti* (*Hirt. de Bell. Afr.* 46). *Damnatus extra vallum deductus est, et jam cervicem porrigebat cum subito apparuit commilito ille* (*Sen. de Ira.* i. 16).

Chap. XXX. — *Vix tutari signa.* — This was looked upon as a portent; the standards were objects of religious worship. See *c.* 20. *Flor.* iii. 11. 3.

Chap. XXXI. — *Germanicae legiones.* — In each of the German provinces were four legions. See *c.* 3. Those in *Germania Superior* (see *Germ.* 1, note) formed the *exercitus superior;* those in *Germania Inferior*, the *exercitus inferior.*

Agendo Galliarum censui. — This census was for the purpose of apportioning the tribute and taxes. It was first taken by Augustus (*Liv. Epit.* 134. *Dio*, liii. 22). Beside the tribute, the Gauls were subject to both a poll-tax and a property-tax. The charge of taking this census was looked upon as a distinction, and was entrusted to persons of high rank. *Census per Gallias a Q. Volusio et Sex. Africano Trebellioque Maximo acti sunt, aemulis inter se per nobilitatem Volusio atque Africano* (xiv. 46).

Prima. — This legion, in an ancient inscription, is called *Germanica.*

Ubiorum. — The Ubii were brought over from the right to the left bank of the Rhine by Agrippa. A colony of veterans was sent to the *oppidum Ubiorum* by Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and wife of Claudius, in A. U. 804. See xii. 27. *Germ.* 28, note. The *ara Ubiorum* was probably erected to Augustus, like that at Lugdunum (*Suet. Claud.* 2). Not far from Bonn is a hill called Godesberg; and it is highly probable that this is the site of the *ara Ubiorum.* That it was somewhere near Bonn is pretty certain. The name Godesberg seems to indicate that the place was the seat of a religious worship of some kind.

Nuper . . delectu. — About five years before this time. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστικοῦ ὄχλου, οὓς ὁ Αὔγουστος μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Οὐάρου συμφορὰν προσκατέλεξεν, οἱ πλεῖους αὐτῶν ἦσαν (*Dio*, lvii. 5).

Inpellere. — The MS. has *inplere;* but *inpellere* is probably the right word. *Inplere* might, perhaps, mean "to infect," as in *Urbe*

deinde inpletur (*Liv.* iv. 30); like Ἀναπίμπλασθαι (*Thuc.* ii. 51). *Inpellere* is the word used in *c.* 16.

In suum cognomentum adscisci imperatores. — *i. e.* Received the name of *Germanicus.* Lipsius conjectured *imperaturos*, because Tiberius was the only emperor who had received the title at this time. But *imperatores* merely means the commanders-in-chief. *Princeps* was the regular title of the emperor; he received that of *imperator* only as commander-in-chief of the armies. Soldiers would use the term in its military sense.

Chap. XXXII. — *Nec .. ibat.*—" Nor did Caecina oppose them," as Blaesus opposed the Pannonian legions (*c.* 16. 18, 19. 21).

Lymphati. — Νυμφόληπτοι. — Properly, persons supposed to be driven mad by the water nymph, whose appearance in water was supposed to terrify them and inspire them with a horror of that element.

Tum adolescens. — This term is somewhat incorrect; he was above thirty years old at this time.

Chap. XXXIII. — *Plures.* — Nine (*Suet. Cal.* 7).

Civile. — " Such as became a citizen." Compare *c.* 54. 76.

Novercalibus. — Agrippina was the daughter of Julia, and granddaughter of Augustus, by his former wife Scribonia.

Chap. XXXIV. — *vexilla .. cohortes.* — See *Agr.* 18, note.

Sic .. responsum. —" They replied that they should hear better as they were." This is commonly translated :—" They would thus hear his reply better." But the former interpretation agrees better with what follows, Germanicus, giving way to them on this point, orders, *Vexilla praeferri ut id saltem discerneret cohortes.*

Veneratione. — *Veneratio* is here used in the sense of *venerabilitas*, if we may coin the word. It has its full force, implying religious worship. Compare *Qui mos .. augebat venerationem feminae* (xii. 42). *Qui munere fortunae tantam venerationem receperat* (*Sen. ad Polyb.* 21). *Ejus virtutis ac venerationis erant* (*Justin.* xiii. 1). *Dignatio* is used in a somewhat similar manner. But there is this difference between it and *dignitas*, *dignatio* implies a *state*, *dignitas* a quality. *Veneratio Augusti*, however, might mean, " the reverence due to Augustus."

CHAP. XXXV. — *Pretia vacationum.* — See *c.* 17. The centurions in the Roman army were very badly paid, and endeavoured to make up for that by exactions from the soldiers.

Materiae. — Timber, stakes for the vallum, &c. *Lignorum*, firewood.

Adversus. — "As a remedy against."

Si qua alia. — Making roads, bridges, canals, &c. See xi. 20. xiii. 53, *Liv.* xxxix. 2.

Neu mortem .. orabant. — The ellipsis of the verb after *neu mortem* is not more violent than the instance in *c.* 7, *ne laeti*, and is softened by the introduction of *orabant.* Tacitus could scarcely have used any verb (as *daret* or *sineret*) which would have done equally well for the three nouns, *mortem*, *finem*, *requiem.*

Reposcerent. — Tacitus frequently uses compound verbs without there being any particular force in them, distinct from that of the simple verbs; as, *exosculare* (34); *respicere* for *adspicere* (xiii. 55. xiv. 8). *Emunire* (*Agr.* 31).

Et, si vellet .. ostentavere. — *Defuit qui contra rempublicam duceret, non qui ducerentur* (*Vell.* ii. 125).

Promptos ostentavere. — Scil. *se.* So, farther on, *At ille, moriturum potius.* Cicero would hardly have omitted the pronoun.

Deferebat .. ni. — See note on *c.* 23. *Ni propere .. aberant.*

CHAP. XXXVI. — *Ubiorum oppidum.* — See notes on *c.* 31.

Galliarum. — Gallia Belgica, and Gallia Lugdunensis.

Augebat, &c. — *Invasurus hostis, civile bellum suscipi, periculosa severitas, flagitiosa largitio, in ancipiti res publica*, are all nominatives to *augebat.* Hence we have the imperfect subjunctive *concederentur* after *si.*

CHAP. XXXVII. — *In hiberna cujusque.* — Till they each came to their winter quarters.

Non abscessere .. persolverentur. — They demanded immediate payment not only for themselves, but for the first and twentieth legions also, as appears from what follows.

Ex viatico. — *Viaticum* here means, not the money allowed by the state to those who were going into any of the provinces, but the money which they had brought on their own account, to provide for the expenses of the journey.

Fisci .. veherentur. — Just as money was frequently deposited in temples, in the army it was kept by the standards, which were looked upon as sacred. See *c.* 18.

CHAP. XXXVIII. — *In Caucis .. vexillarii.* — See *Germ.* 35, note on *Caucorum gens.*

Vexillarii. — See *Agr.* 18, note.

Bono .. jure. — According to the regulation of Augustus, those only whom he had appointed as *legati* had the right of chastising the soldiers. It was afterwards extended to all the governors in the provinces, at least in the case of common soldiers. *Qui exercitum accepit jus animadvertendi in milites caligatos habet* (*Dig.* 48. tit. 3. s. 9).

Bono exemplo. — "As a useful warning to the rest of the soldiers." Compare xii. 20. xiv. 44.

CHAP. XXXIX. — *Regressum.* — From the upper army (*c.* 37).

Munatium Plancum, consulatu functum. — In A. U. 765, with C. Silius. He was either the father or grandfather of Munatia Plancina, concerning whom, see ii. 43. 55. 71. iii. 9. 15. 17. vi. 26.

Vexillum. — This was the purple flag by which the signal for battle was given, and which was always in the keeping of the general. When it was hung out, the soldiers were at liberty to make use of their arms (*Agr.* 18, note).

Castra primae legionis. — This, probably, means only that part of the camp set apart for the first legion.

Signa .. complexus. — That their sanctity might protect him.

Fatalem. — Brought about by the special agency of the gods, and betokening their wrath. With *fatalem rabiem* we must understand *esse.* Compare *Inbelles Aeduos evincite* (iii. 46). *Agrippina libertam aemulam nurum ancillam* (sc. esse) *fremere* (xiii. 13). *Increpans* is equivalent to *increpando dicens.* Compare *Increpabant inclementem dictatorem* (*Liv.* viii. 32). *Insuper increpante qui vulneraverat, habere quaestorem quod imperator esset militibus minatus* (*Liv.* iv. 50).

CHAP. XL. — *Eo in metu.* — "In this dangerous or critical state of affairs, with these grounds for alarm." Compare *Quae ne in metu quidem pericula nostra avertit* (xiv. 43). *Aurum quod in metu sacraverat* (xv. 45).

Adspernantem.—Equivalent to *detrectantem*, or *recusantem*. *Adspernantem uxorem* is governed by *perpulit.*

Incedebat — Implies marching at a slow pace.

CHAP. XLI. — *Neque suis . . victa.* —Understand the participle of the verb to be ὄντος.

Advertere. — Περιστρέφεσθαι. Compare ii. 17. iv. 21.

Non centurionem . . soliti. — Sc. *habentes.*

Treveros. — See note on *Germ.* 28. p. 150, 151.

Et externae fidei. — "And those too only foreign allies." *Fidei* should be taken as the genitive of quality. Some, however, consider it as the dative, used instead of *ad* with the accusative,—"for the purpose of obtaining foreign protection."

Infans in castris genitus — Suetonius (*Cal.* 8) has a dissertation in which he attempts to disprove this assertion.

Caligulam. — Common soldiers, from their wearing the *caliga*, were called *caligati.* *Caligulae cognomen castrensi joco traxit quia manipulario habitu inter milites educabatur* (*Suet. Cal.* 9). *Marius a caliga ad consulatum pervenit* (*Sen. de Ben.* v. 16). The caliga was also worn by the officers, but then it was ornamented.

CHAP. XLII. — *Quidquid istuc sceleris inminet.* — "Whatever this guilt of yours be that threatens us." *Istuc* is freqently used as the neuter pronoun in Plautus, Terence, and Cicero, instead of *istud.* *Non enim preces sunt istuc* (ii. 38). *Nulla adeo ex re istuc fit, ni ex nimio otio* (*Ter. Heaut.* i. 1. 57). Ernesti conjectured *istinc.*

Filium imperatoris. — Germanicus had been adopted by Tiberius.

Vallo et armis circumsedistis. — These words may either be used in a figurative sense, implying nothing more than "treating as an enemy;" or they may refer to what is spoken of in *c.* 39.

Divus Julius . . Quirites vocando.—See *Suet. Jul. Caes.* 70. *Quirites* which is said by some to be derived from *quiris*, the Sabine name for a spear, had completely lost its primitive meaning, and was the term usually employed in addressing Romans in their civil capacity. The soldier would, of course, look upon the peaceable citizen with contempt.

Egregiam . . gratiam. — Ironically.

CHAP. XLIII. — *Melius et amantius ille.* — Sc. *fecit.* Compare *Agr.* 19., note on *Nihil per libertos servosque reipublicae.*

Decus istud. — If *istud* is the right word here, it must have lost, by this time, its original meaning as a demonstrative of the second person.

Tua .. imago. — *Imago* may either be equivalent to *anima*, as in *Et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago* (*Virg. Aen.* iv. 654): or it may refer to the image of Drusus; since we learn, from the case of Sejanus (*Suet. Tib.* 48), that the statues of other persons beside the emperors were placed in the army amongst the standards.

Hanc maculam. — The disaster of Varus.

CHAP. XLIV. — *Excusavit.* — The original meaning of *excuso* was *eripio causando*,—"by alleging as a reason:" then the accusative should be a person: *excusabat se ob morbum*: and this use of it is very common. It afterwards came to mean *adfero excusandi causa*; as *excusare morbum*, "to allege disease as an excuse." A third meaning is, to excuse a fault. It is also used, as here, with an accusative of the thing, for granting or procuring exemption from the performance of anything.

Pro contione. — "As if in an assembly."

In subgestu. — See *c.* 18.

Centurionatum .. egit. — The word *centurionatus* is not found elsewhere. Several editors have, therefore, proposed to alter the reading. But from *centurio* we might have *centurionari*, just as *contionari* from *contio*. *Centurionatum agere* would then mean, to hold a muster and examination of centurions. And this agrees with what follows,—*citatus .. retinebat ordines.* Heinsius proposed, *censum centurionum*, or *centurionalem*; Gronovius, *centurionum delectum egit*, or *centurionatus exegit* (as *exigere vulnera*, *Germ.* 7); Lipsius, *centurionatum legit* (like *legere senatum*), taking *centurionatus* as a collective noun.

Dona militaria. — See *Suet. Aug.* 8. 25. *Tib.* 32. *Plin.* vii. 28.

CHAP. XLV. — *Sexagesimum apud lapidem.* — *i. e.* From the *oppidum Ubiorum.* Compare ii. 50. iii. 45.

Vetera. — Οὐέτερα (*Ptol.* ii. 11). A town of the Gugerni, on the banks of the Rhine, between the Ubii and Batavi, on the site of the modern *Santen*, or *Xanten.* In Antoninus's Itinerary (p. 370), the distance between Vetera and Bonn is made sixty-three miles.

Chap. XLVI. — *In Illyrico.* — Properly, in Pannonia. See *c.* 16, foll. *Germ.* 1, notes.

Duorum adolescentium. — Drusus and Germanicus (*c.* 24. 31).

Principem .. summum. — Properly, the genitive in these expressions denotes some permanent quality; the ablative, some temporary state, or incidental characteristic.

Cavillantem. — *Cavillari* is nearly equivalent to *captare.*

Chap. XLVII. — *Inmotum .. fuit.* — Compare, *Si mihi non animo fixum inmotumque sederet* (*Virg. Aen.* iv. 15).

Ac ne postpositi, &c.—*Ac* is introduced better to distinguish the two grounds of anxiety; the difficulty of deciding, and the fear of the consequences that might ensue from that decision. *Ne* must not be looked upon as put for *ita ut non:* the verbs of fearing are frequently omitted before *ne* (see xii. 2. 66). From *angebant* we must supply two analogous verbs, *dubitabat* utri adeundi forent, *metuebat* ne postpositi dolerent.

Excusatum. — Sc. *fore.* See note on *c.* 44.

Inpedimenta. —Waggons and beasts of burthen. See *Suet. Cal.* 51.

Adornavit naves. — Ships might be employed either across the Mare superum, or from Ostia to Massilia, as in the Britannic expedition of Claudius (*Suet. Claud.* 17).

Chap. XLVIII. — *Si .. consulerent.* — "To see whether;" or "In case, or in hopes that." Compare, *Exercitum ostendit si barbari proelium auderent* (iv. 49). *Rapi ignes, Antonius, inferrique amoenissimis extra urbem aedificiis jubet; si damno rerum suarum Cremonenses ad mutandam fidem traherentur* (*Hist.* iii. 30).

Quis finis. — Ernesti proposed to change *quis* into *qui;* but there is no occasion for any alteration.

Chap. XLIX. — *Piaculum furoris.* — Compare *c.* 44. Words are frequently thus placed in apposition with a sentence, or part of a sentence. Compare *Vinclum et necessitas silendi* (iii. 67); *causas bello* (ii. 64).

Junctoque ponte.—*Jungere pontem* is "to place a bridge as a yoke" across a river.

CHAP. L. — *Agitabant.* — The frequentative form of *agebant*. Compare *c.* 68. *Germ.* 7. 17. 19. &c.

Silvam Caesiam. —Some geographers identify this with the modern Heserwald, between the Lippe and the Saale ; others place it at the confluence of the Ruhr and Moenne, where the modern Neheim is situated.

Scindit. —" Cuts his way through." Compare, *Aperit limites* (*Vell.* ii. 120). *Alemanni perrupere Germaniae limites* (*Ammian.* xxvi. 5). This is an instance of the figure called zeugma. *Scindit*, in its literal and physical meaning, is scarcely applicable to *silvam*. When marching *propero agmine*, he would not have time to spend in felling trees ; for which, moreover, a body of troops was usually sent in advance of the main body. Besides, the order of the words, *silvam Caesiam limitemque* .. *scindit*, shows that the *Silva Caesia* was within the limes, so that, in all probability, roads would already have been cut through it. With *silvam*, therefore, the verb must be taken in the modified sense of " marches rapidly through."

Latera .. *munit.* — *Munit* is a conjecture, but is most probably right. The MS. has *munitus*, which would imply that this part of the operation preceded the pitching of the camp.

Saltus obscuros. — These were manifestly beyond the limes, so that they cannot be identical with the Silva Caesia, as some editors have supposed.

Breve et solitum. — Along the Luppia (Lippe) to the Cherusci.

Inpeditius et intemptatum. — Leading to the Amisia (Ems) and the country of the Marsi.

Incautum. — " Unguarded." Used passively, as in *Liv.* xxv. 38.

Obstantia silvarum. — Compare, *Occulta saltuum*, and *humido paludum* (*c.* 61). *Aperta oceani* (ii. 23). *Angusta viarum* (iii. 82). *Aspera maris* (*Agr.* 6). *Certa maris* (*Hist.* iv. 81).

Pax .. *languida.* —Arising from the languor and torpor of drunkenness.

Soluta. — Without the restraints and precautions which are usual even in time of peace.

CHAP. LI. — *Avidas.* —" Eager " to commence the onslaught.

In cuneos. — Beside its literal meaning (see *Germ.* 6, note), *cuneus*, is applied generally to a body of troops drawn up in column.

Tanfanae. — This deity is not spoken of except in this passage,

and in one inscription. There is nothing to guide us to the meaning or derivation of the name, at which various guesses have been made without arriving at any very probable result.

Sine vulnere milites. — Sc. *fuere.*

Bructeros, .. Usipetes. — See *Germ.* c. 32, 33.

Tubantes. — Τουβάντοι (*Ptol.* ii. 11), Σουβάττιοι (*Strab.* vii. 1. 4), allies of the Cherusci. They lived in the southern part of the duchy of Westphalia, and the northern part of the county of Mark, on the southern side of the Luppia (Lippe).

Quod gnarum duci. — See note on c. 5. *Gnarum id Caesari.*

Itineri et proelio. — Sc. *paratus.* It is possible that *pars* has swallowed up the word *paratus.*

Donec ..porrigeretur. — Until it was stretched ont, and so weakened. *Civilis haud porrecto agmine, sed cuneis adstitit* (*Hist.* v. 16).

Leves cohortes. — Those whom above he calls *ceteri sociorum.*

Evasere silvas. — So, *Angustias Isthmi evadit* (v. 10). *Evasurum juventam* (vi. 48).

CHAP. LII. — *Intentior.* — "With greater earnestness."

CHAP. LIII. — *Julia.* — The daughter of Augustus; married successively to Agrippa and Tiberius.

Pandateria. — So in xiv. 63. *Dio*, lv. 10. In Strabo and elsewhere the name is spelled Pandataria. It is an island in the Gulf of Puteoli (*Plin.* iii. 12), now called Vandotena.

Rhegium (modern *Reggio*). — Originally a colony from Chalcis in Euboea.

Ut inparem. — In point of family. Livy (vi. 34), speaking of Fabia the younger daughter of Ambustus, who was married to a plebeian, says, *Quod juncta impari esset.* Compare ii. 43.

Tam intima. — So, *Tam gravissimis judiciis* (*Cic. Phil.* xii. 5). *Tam maxime* (*Cic. Lael.* 21). *Tam extrema sors* (*Suet. Cal.* 35).

Cur Rhodum abscederet. — See c. 4.

Post .. Agrippam. — See c. 4, 5, 6.

Exilii longinquitate. — *Longinquitas* here, probably, relates to time. So, *Peregrinatio longinqua* (iii. 24). *Longinqua consuetudo* (*Caes. B. G.* i. 47). So, in Greek, μακρός and μακρότης, are used both of place and time. Julia was banished A. U. 752.

Amotus Cercinam. — In A. U. 752. At the same time with Quinc-

tius Crispinus, Appius Claudius, Scipio, and others of less note. (*Dio*, lv. 10). *Cercina* (now *Kerkine*, or *Zerbi*), an island near the lesser Syrtis, on the coast of Africa.

L. Asprenate. — This appears to have been a cognomen of the Nonian gens. See *Plin.* xxx. 7. *Suet. Aug.* 43.

CHAP. LIV. — *Idem annus .. adcepit.* — Tacitus is fond of this mode of expression. Compare *Quos simul vescentis dies, simul quietos nox habuerat* (c. 49).

Sodalium Augustalium. — Dio (lvi. 46. and lviii. 12) calls them Τοὺς τοῦ Αὐγούστου θιασώτας, and (lix. 7) Τοὺς ἱερέας Αὐγουστείους. Compare *Suet. Claud.* 6. *Galb.* 8.

Ut quondam .. instituerat. — But Tacitus says: — *Quod sacerdotium, ut Romulus Tatio regi, ita Caesar Juliae genti sacravit* (*Hist.* ii. 95).

Titios. — It was not usual to name anything after a man's praenomen. Perhaps Titus, or Tatus, was originally his only name.

Indulserat .. Augustus. — We do not hear of pantomimic actors before his time (*Suet. Oct.* 45. *Dio*, liv. 17. *Juv.* vi. 63).

CHAP. LV. — *Druso Caesare, C. Norbano Coss.* — A. D. 15.

Dissidere. — Present for future. So, *Abire se et cedere urbe* (ii. 34). *Durare .. ac videre ominabatur* (*Agr.* 44).

Praecepit. — i. e. *Maturius fecit.*

Dissidere .. Segestem.—*Dio*, lvi. 19. *Vell.* ii. 118. *Arminius* is commonly thought to be the Latin form of the name *Hermann.*

Crimina discernere. — "To distinguish true charges from false ones."

Filiam ejus. — Thusnelda.

Gener invisus inimici soceri. — Instances of this kind of tautology are not uncommon. Compare *Fratris filio juveni patruus senex parere dedignabatur* (ii. 45). *Utinam ego potius filio juveni, quam ille patri seni cessisset* (iii. 16). *Fratrem ne desere frater* (*Virg. Aen.* x. 600).

CHAP. LVI. — *Germanorum cis Rhenum colentium.* — The Ubii, Sigambri, and others brought over by Augustus. To these we may add some of the Suevi and Cherusci, led over the Rhine by Drusus and Tiberius (*Suet. Oct.* 21. *Tib.* 9. *Dio*, lv. 6).

Positoque castello .. in monte Tauno. — Compare ii. 7. *Agr.* xiv. 22. *Taunus mons*, the modern *Taussen Gebirge.* This fort, first erected by

Drusus, and rebuilt by Germanicus, was not that on the Fulda (now Cassel), but was in the territory of Mattium, and some remains are still to be seen near Homburg.

Metuebantur. — *Metuebatur* is in the MS.; but as several rivers are spoken of, the plural appears to be necessary.

Flumen Adranam. — The Eder, in Hesse, which runs into the Fulda.

CHAP. LVII. — *Quando.* — It is doubtful whether *quando* or *quoniam* is the right reading; since, in the MS. the word is written *quō*, which may be a contraction of either *quando* or *quoniam*. There is a similar uncertainty in many passages of Cicero's letters. *Quando* is frequently used for since, as in i. 44. 59. ii. 26. *Germ.* 33.

Quanto .. promptus, tanto magis fidus .. potior. — Compare *Quanto inopina tanto majora* (*c.* 68). *Quanto dites, tanto magis imbelles* (iii. 46). *Quanto intentus, tanto occultior* (iv. 67). *Quantumque hebes, tanto promptior* (*Hist.* ii. 99).

Anno .. descivere. — A. U. 762. This revolt was followed by the disaster of Varus.

Pretium fuit. — That is, *Operae pretium fuit.*

Clientium. — See *Germ.* 13.

Intra sinum. — "Within the folds of her dress."

CHAP. LVIII. — *Conducere .. probabam.* — With *conducere* we supply *judicabam* from *probabam*, which includes the notion of judging and deciding. See *Germ.* 13. 18.

Defleri .. possunt. — Sc. *a Germanis.*

Conciliator. — Of peace and alliance with the Romans.

Vetere in provincia. — The reading is doubtful. The MS. is said to have *vaera* or something like it. Some editions have *veterem*, others *vetere*, understanding Gallia or Germania Cisrhenana. *Nova provincia* would then be applied to the tract beyond the Rhine, which was not yet completely subdued. Perhaps *nostra* may be the reading, from which, in the writing of the MSS. *vaera* would differ but slightly.

Educatus .. memorabo. — The account of this would be contained in the lost books.

CHAP. LIX. — *Ut quibusque .. erat.* — See note on *Bellum volentibus erat* (*Agr.* 18).

Redderet .. adcusaturos. — The common reading is, *Redderet filio sacerdotium; hominem Germanos nunquam satis excusaturos*, &c. But here *hominem* (meaning Segestes) is in its wrong place. Several alterations have been proposed, but that of Wolf's, which is adopted in the text, is by far the best: it improves both sentences. Arminius speaks with contempt of a Roman priesthood being bestowed upon a Cheruscan chief.

Aliis gentibus .. tributa. — He means to say, that other tribes who, through their ignorance of the character of the Roman dominion, do not make a strenuous resistance, may be more easily excused than those who have experienced it, and do not make every effort to escape from it.

Ignorantia. — Compare *Peritia morum* (*c.* 69).

Nescia. — "Unknown." So, *Nescium habere* (xvi. 14).

Quando. — See *c.* 57.

Delectus. — For carrying on the war in Germany. See *Suet. Tib.* 18. *Vell.* ii. 120.

Parentes. — It is doubtful whether this is the noun, or the participle of the verb *pareo.* *Patriam* and *parentes* (noun) are frequently found thus together, as in *Sall. Cat.* 6. On the other hand, in this passage, *parentes* seems to be opposed to *dominos.*

Novas. —This is said, with reference to the old colonies planted by the Romans, for the purpose of protecting the conquered territory, which had been destroyed after the victory of Arminius. If, as some suppose, *novas colonias* is opposed to *patriae*, it must refer to new settlements on the Gallic side of the Rhine, for those Germans who, like Segestes, went over to the Romans; to which he alludes above, *Coleret Segestes victam ripam.* See *c.* 58.

There is a little irregularity in the tenses of this chapter. *Coleret, redderet, pavescerent*, &c. would require, strictly, *suspendisset, vidissent, exuissent, discessisset.*

CHAP. LX. — *Non modo Cherusci, sed conterminae gentes.* — *Etiam* is frequently thus omitted after *sed.* *Non consulibus modo, sed plerisque senatoribus* (*Sall. Cat.* 18). Sometimes we find the *sed* omitted, as in *Non modo libertas, etiam libido inpunita* (iv. 35).

Bructeros. — See *Germ.* 33.

Amisia. — *Amisius* (*Plin.* iv. 28). Now called Ems, Emse, Emsch, or Emscher. It separates Westphalia, Mark, and Dortmund, and falls

into the Rhine. This river must not be confounded with another of the same name, which falls into the German Ocean.

Pedo. — Probably C. Pedo Albinovanus, of whose poetry we have a fragment remaining on the voyage of Germanicus down the Amisia to the ocean (ii. 23. foll. *Ovid. ex Ponto* iv. 10. 16).

Frisiorum. — See *Germ.* 34.

Luppia. — (Λουπίας. *Strab.* vii. 1. 3. *Dio*, liv. 33). This name was applied not only to the Lippe, but also to the Ruhr, or Roer,— not the stream which falls into the Rhine at Ruhrort; but that on the west of the Rhine, which runs past Dürens and Julich, and falls into the Maas at Ruremonde.

Haud procul, &c. — For an account of the disaster of Varus (which happened A. D. 9), see i. 51. 61. ii. 7. *Vell.* ii. 105. 116—120. *Dio*, lvi. 18—24. The locality of the field of battle has not been determined with any certainty, though not a little has been written on the subject. It seems, however, most probable, that Varus, leaving the camp at Vetera, crossed the Rhine; and, to avoid the marshy country of the Bructeri on the Emsch, and that of the Marsi on the Lippe, marched by the road traversed first by Lollius and Drusus (i. 56. iv. 2), and afterwards by Germanicus and Tiberius, between the Lippe and Emsch, past the sites of the modern towns of Essen, Bochum, Dortmund, Soest, and Lippstadt, into Westphalia; not, however, into the bishoprick of Osnaburg, but into Lippe and Mark. Hence most writers have looked for the sites of the camps and engagements in Lippe, between Detmold, Horn, Salz-Ufel, and Lippstadt, from Bielefeld to Dringenberg, where there are several names which seem to point out this as the scene of the victory, as Teuteberg (near Detmold), Winfeld, and Varenholz (the wood of Varus). Other positions, more to the north or north-west of this, are assigned to the locality by other writers.

CHAP. LXI. — *Trium .. ostentabant.* — "Showed that the hands of three legions had been employed upon it;" *i. e.* Showed that when this camp was formed, the three legions were still entire.

Dein. — This refers to some spot distinct from that just spoken of. This second camp was made on the second day, on some hill or other (*Dio*, lvi. 21).

CHAP. LXII. — *Imperatorem .. praeditum.* — Germanicus was both flamen and augur. *Neve quis flamen aut augur in locum Germanici nisi gentis Juliae crearetur* (ii. 83). In an inscription also (*Grut.* p. 236), we find GERMANICVS. CAESAR. TI. AVGVSTI. F. DIVI. AVGVSTI. N. DIVI. IVLII. PRON. AVGVR. FLAMEN. AVG.

Adtrectare feralia. — Augurs and priests were not allowed to do so, that they might not be polluted.

CHAP. LXIII. — *Campumque .. eripi.* — This is a phrase borrowed from the circus. When four chariots started from the *carceres*, if that which came through the first doorway won the prize, they said *occupavit et vicit*; if that which came through the second, *successit et vicit*; if that which came through the third, *eripuit* (campum praecedentibus) *et vicit*. *Tene, Astur, certante feret quisquam aequore palmam Erepto?* (*Sil.* xvi. 390.)

Trudebanturque, &c. — See c. 23. 35.

Gnaram vincentibus. — See c. 5. *Gnarum id Caesari.*

Manibus aequis abscessum. — So, *Aequa manu* (*Sall. Cat.* 39). From what follows, however, it appears that the Romans were, at all events, compelled to retire with some loss.

Littore oceani. — So, *Finibus Frisiorum* (c. 60).

Suum militem.—The legions of Germania inferior, which he usually commanded. See c. 31.

Pontes longos .. Angustus is trames. — These *pontes longi* were discocovered in 1818, beneath the marshy soil in the province of Drenthe, not far from Coevorda and Valthe, running from the forest of Weerding to Ter-Haar. They consist of gravel heaped up and held together by stakes and beams on each side. The stakes have been worn away at the extremities by age, but still exist beneath the surface.

Tenacia gravi coeno. — That is, the feet of those who stepped upon it stuck in the clay.

Ut opus, et alii proelium inciperent.—This omission of the first *alii* is rather violent. Compare *Virgis caedi, alii securi subjici* (*Liv.* iii. 37). *Helvetii .. navibus junctis .. alii vadis Rhodani .. si perrumpere possent, conati* (*Caes. B. G.* i. 8). *Primum* is omitted in a similar manner in *Ut hi, mox, pedes*, &c. (c. 67.)

CHAP. LXIV. — *Inclinantis jam.* — The MS. has *tam*; which is

changed by some editors into *tum*; but Wolf's correction, *jam*, gives a much clearer sense. Compare *Germ.* 8. *Adcisae jam* (i. 61).

Duplicatus .. labor. — That is, they had to do all their work over again.

Quadragesimum .. stipendium. — See iii. 33, and notes on i. 17.

Volvens. — Sc. *Mente, animo.* So, *duxissent* for *dux. sorte* (iii. 58); *affecit* for *aff. calamitate* (iv. 64); *turbantem* for *turb. res* (*Hist.* i. 7).

Pateretur. — So, *Duri loci proelium haud patiebantur* (xii. 55).

CHAP. LXV. — *Invalidi ignes.* — The watch-fires. *Vigilum ignis male pervigil* (*Stat. Theb.* viii. 266).

Interruptae voces. — The cries of the sentinels. *Vigiles flagitium suum ducis dedecore excusabant, tamquam jussi silere, ne quietem ejus turbarent; ita intermisso signo et vocibus, se quoque in somnum lapsos* (*Hist.* v. 22). The *signum* was given with the trumpet.

Atque ipsi. — This refers to the soldiers in general, as distinguished from the sentinels.

Intendentis. — Sc. *Vari*, to drag Caecina along with him.

Sibi quisque properus. — Each in a hurry to save himself by flight.

Simul haec. — Sc. *dixit.* Compare *Simul haec, et crassum sanguine telum Jam redit* (*Stat. Theb.* ii. 659). *Simul coeptus dies et aderant* (*Annal.* iv. 25). There is no necessity, therefore, for striking out *et*, as has been proposed.

Adgerem petere. — To seek for earth and turf to make a rampart. See ii. 81. *Qui paulo longius aggeris petendi causa processerant* (*Caes. B. G.* ii. 20).

CHAP. LXVI. — *Decumana porta.* — This was the largest gate of the camp, and was placed in the side most distant from the enemy, whence it is frequently called *aversa porta.* See *Liv.* x. 34. xxii. 24. It took its name from the form of the camp, the two principal streets of which crossed each other at right angles, and so made the letter X (*decem*). The other gates were the *porta praetoria*, so called from the *praetorium*, which stood near it, on the side opposite the *porta decumana*; and the *principales dextra* and *sinistra*, by which the tents of the *principes* stood. The decuman gate was sometimes called *quaestoria*, from the tent of the quaestor being anciently situated near it; and the praetorian gate *extraordinaria*, from the *extraordinarii*, consist-

ing of a third part of the cavalry, and a fifth of the infantry, of the allies, who pitched their tents near it. According to Müller (Etrusker), the form of the camp was borrowed from the Etruscans.

CHAP. LXVII. — *Contractos in principia.* — In this part of the camp was the *tribunal*, near which the standards were deposited. Statius (*Theb.* x. 120) calls it *Concilii penetrale domumque verendam.*

Donec expugnandi .. subcederent. — Tacitus has other instances of a similar transposition. Compare, *Ereptum jus legatis ducendi in hostem* (xiii. 54). *Ardore retinendae Agrippinam potentiae* (xiv. 2). *Ministros temptare arduum videbatur mulieris* (xiv. 3).

Equos .. tradit. — The fury of the enemy had been principally directed against the horses (*c.* 65).

CHAP. LXVIII. — *Agebat.* — This is simply equivalent to *erant.* Compare *Germ.* 7. 17. 19. 29.

Proruunt .. crates. — There is considerable doubt about the reading of this sentence. The MS. has *fossos.* Most editors correct this to *fossas*, taking it with *proruunt.* But is is scarcely possible to attach any meaning to *proruunt fossas*; the action denoted by the verb requires that the object of it should be elevated. Another correction is to read *fossis*, and put the stop after *proruunt.* Tacitus uses *proruere* in the intransitive or middle sense of *proruere se*, in *Motu terrae oppidum magna ex parte proruit* (xv. 22). The word is also used in the sense of rushing forward by Livy :—*Equitibus ex occulto proruentibus* (xxv. 39), *Ne sparsi proruerent* (*Gell.* i. 11). *Proruere in hostem* (*Curt.* iv. 16).

CHAP. LXIX. — *Inpositum Rheno pontem.* — Lipsius supposes in the country of the Treveri (*c.* 41. 44). In this he appears to be mistaken. It is hardly likely that Agrippina would have stayed so long there, when the motive for her absence no longer existed. This expedition into the country of the Cherusci took place in the summer of A. U. 768; Agrippina went to the Treveri before the winter of 767. Caecina was surrounded near the Luppia by the *pontes longi*, to which the nearest bridge across the Rhine was that at Vetera. Besides it is clear from what follows (*militibusque .. dilargita est*), that she was no longer amongst the Treveri. Of the four legions which Caecina commanded, the winter camp of the fifth and twenty-first was at Vetera (*c.*45);

that of the first and twentieth at Ara Ubiorum. The bridge, therefore, was no doubt at Vetera, or at Novesium, in the country of the Ubii.

C. Plinius. — Sc. *major.* He wrote twenty books on the German wars, thirty-one of the history of his own times, from the point at which the narrative of Aufidius Bassus ceased, and several other works (*Plin. Ep.* iii. 5). The only work of his which has come down to us, is his Natural History, in thirty-seven books.

Non simplices eas curas. — "That there was some sinister design in all this anxiety."

Odia .. jaciens. — A metaphor from sowing seed.

CHAP. LXX. — *Reciproco.* — At the return of the ebb-tide. So, *Mare reciprocum* (*Plin.* v. 4). *Amnis reciprocus* (*Id.* ix. 57).

Vel .. sideret. — Off this part of the coast the sea retires to a great distance from the shore.

Sidere aequinoctii. — That is the autumnal equinox. Compare *Caes. B. G.* iv. 28. The ancients imagined that the constellations influenced the tide.

Eadem .. facies. — From this and several passages, it is clear that the coast was not then, as now, protected by banks of sand from the incursions of the sea.

Subtracto solo. — That is, they got out of their depth.

Sapiens ab rudi. — The MS. has *a prudenti.* Hence some have conjectured *ab imprudenti*; others, *insciens a prudenti.* *Ab rudi* is the simplest and best correction—*ab rudi* might easily be corrupted to *a prudi*, and that to *a prudenti.*

Utensilibus. — Literally the word merely implies "things for use:" here it may mean either cooking utensils or provisions. It is used in the former sense by Livy (xxvi. 33); in the latter, by Tacitus (ii. 60. iii. 52. xv. 39).

Ad amnem Unsingim. — There is some difficulty in this passage. The MS. has *Visurgim*, where, manifestly, there is some error; for Vitellius was marching from the mouth of the Ems towards the Zuyder Zee. If the mistake was not made by Tacitus, but by the transcriber, the most probable correction is *Unsingim*, which would closely resemble it in the writing of the MSS. and might easily be corrupted; as the Visurgis was a river much better known to the Romans. The modern name of the Unsingis is *Hunse*, or *Hunsing*; it runs by Grö-

ningen. Lipsius substituted *Vidrum* (the *Vechte*, or, more probably, the *Wymerz*).

CHAP. LXXI. — *Circumire saucios.* — At this time there were no infirmaries in the camps. Compare iv. 63. *Liv.* viii. 36.

CHAP. LXXII. — *Triumphalia insignia.* — The *sella curulis*, the ivory sceptre, the foremost seat at the games, the right of wearing the laurel chaplet, the *toga picta*, and the *tunica palmata*. *Statuae honor et quicquid pro triumpho datur* (*Agr.* 40). After the time of Augustus, very few were honoured with the triumph.

In acta sua jurari. — See note on *c.* 7.

Legem majestatis. — The first law on this subject was that of Cornelius Sulla. *Est majestas, ut Sulla voluit, ne in quemvis impune declamare liceret* (*Cic. ad Div.* iii. 11). This was followed by two others; one brought forward by Julius Caesar, the dictator; the other, by Augustus. By the former, those who were condemned for violence and treason, were interdicted from fire and water. This was, for the most part, abrogated by Antony after the death of J. Caesar. The latter, which is treated of in the Digests, continued long in force, and was amplified and extended, as we find here, by Tiberius. *Majestas est magnitudo quaedam Pop. R. in ejus potestate ac jure retinendo, quam minuit is qui per vim multitudinis rem ad seditionem vocavit* (*Cic. in Partit.* 30). *Majestatem minuere est aliquid de republica cum potestatem non habeas, administrare* (*Id. de Invent.* ii. 18). *Majestatem minuere est de dignitate aut amplitudine aut potestate populi, aut eorum quibus populus potestatem dedit, aliquid derogare* (*Id.* 17). *Legionem sollicitare res est quae lege majestatis tenetur* (*Id. pro. Cluent.* 35). After the time of Tiberius the *crimen majestatis* might well be called *omnium accusationum complementum* (iii. 38). Impiety towards the emperor was included under it (vi. 47). Ἀσέβειάν τε γὰρ ἤδη καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὠνόμαζον καὶ δίκας ἐπ' αὐτῷ πολλάς ἐσῆγον (*Dio*, lvii. 9). *Paulatim hoc genus calumniae eo processit, ut haec quoque capitalia essent: circa Augusti simulacrum servum cecidisse, vestimenta mutasse, nummo vel annulo effigiem impressam, latrinae aut lupanari intulisse, dictum ullum factumve ejus, existimatione aliqua laesisse. Periit denique et is qui honorem in colonia sua eodem die decerni sibi passus est, quo decreti et Augusto olim erant* (*Suet. Tib.* 58).

Libidine. — *Libido*, in Tacitus, is *libertas* carried too far. *Non*

attingo Graecos, quorum non modo libertas etiam libido impunita (iv. 35). It is equivalent to *licentia*, or ὕβρις.

An judicia.. redderentur.—"Whether the old laws of treason should be revived."

Carmina .. vulgata. — These verses are still extant in *Suet. Tib.* 59.

Chap. LXXIII. — *Modicis equitibus* — That is, in point of fortune. The *equites illustres* were those who had the privilege of wearing the latus clavus. To them belonged the sons of the senators before they obtained any offices, and those who possessed the fortune of a senator, and to whom, in consequence, the road to the offices of the state was open. The *equites angusticlavii* were those who were not sprung from senators, and who, from not possessing more than the ordinary fortune of an *eques*, were precluded from bearing the offices of the state. See *Dio*, lv. 2.

Quibus initiis. — *i. e.* By the passing of the *lex Papia Poppaea*, and by offering rewards to informers.

Dein repressum sit. — By Vespasian and Titus (*Hist.* iv. 30, 44), as afterwards by Trajan (*Plin. Pan.* 34).

Postremo .. conripuerit. — Under Domitian (*Agr.* 2. 45. *Suet. Dom.* 10. 11).

Qui .. habebantur. — He means that colleges of such priests or worshippers were commonly found in the houses of private persons.

Violatum .. numen Augusti. — *Numen* is a conjectural alteration for *nomen*, which is the MS. reading. Compare *Hor. Ep.* ii. 1. 15. *Jusjurandum neque sanctius sibi neque crebrius instituit quam per Augustum* (*Suet. Claud.* 11).

Ludis. — Afterwards called *ludi Palatini*, from the place where they were held. They appear to have consisted of scenic exhibitions (*Joseph. Ant. Jud.* xix. 1. *Suet. Cal.* 56. *Dio*, lvi. 46).

Chap. LXXIV. — *Praetorem Bithyniae.* — From Dio (liii. 12) we learn that Bithynia was one of the provinces to which the governors were appointed by the senate and people; and from Strabo (xvii. p. 840), it appears that Bithynia was a praetorian province. Dio (liii. 14) informs us that the emperor appointed as governors of the provinces of which he had the direction, indifferently persons who had

filled the office of consul, or those who had been praetors; but that by the senate men of consular rank were sent to the consular provinces, and men of praetorian rank to the praetorian provinces. So that, as far as the nature of the province is concerned, Marcellus might have been called *praetorem*. But in xvi. 18, Tacitus speaks of the *proconsul* of Bithynia, and Pliny (*Ep.* x. 65. 109. 113. and elsewhere) calls the governors of Bithynia proconsuls, never praetors or propraetors. This is explained by Dio (liii. 13), who tells us that Augustus directed the governors sent out by the senate, whether of consular or praetorian rank, to be called *proconsules*, but those sent out by himself to be styled *legati* and *propraetores*, even though of consular rank. So that it would appear that, in this passage of Tacitus, either the word *praetorem* has been substituted for *proconsulem* by some copyist, who found that Bithynia was a praetorian province, or else that Marcellus is called praetor for some reason which is unknown. Possibly he was appointed irregularly by the emperor instead of by the senate, and sent with an army to Bithynia. Ernesti defends *praetorem* on the ground that the word may be applied to any governor of a province or commander of an army; but Tacitus never uses it in this general way. In ii. 56. 77. iv. 15. where *jus praetoris* and *vis praetoris* occur, the lieutenants of the emperor are referred to. Tacitus carefully distinguishes the *proconsules* sent by the senate (i. 53. ii. 52. xiii. 1. &c.) from the *propraetores* sent by the emperor (iv. 73. xii. 40. &c).

Majestatis postulavit. — By bringing a charge of extortion against him. (See the end of the chapter.) *Postulare* is frequently used in reference both to private and public trials. In the former, it properly means to ask the praetor's permission for bringing an action against any one; in the latter, to ask his permission to impeach any one. From this it came to be equivalent to *accusare*. In this sense it is joined with the ablative in *postulavit repetundis* (iii. 38); but in other passages with the genitive, like *accusare* (vi. 19), *arguere* (vi. 10), *absolvere* (iv. 13), *damnare* (ii. 55).

Subscribente Romano Hispone. — *Subscribere* is applied to both the principal and the secondary accuser, from their signing their names at the bottom of the indictment.

Qui formam vitae iniit. — That is Crispinus, not Hispo, as appears from what follows:—*Marcellum insimulabat . . addidit Hispo.* Com-

pare *Sulla cum Hispanos et Gallos donaret, credo hunc petentem repudiasset: quem (sc. Sullam) nos*, &c. (*Cic. pro Arch.* 10.) The ablative *subscribente Hispone* forms a parenthesis.

Postremum. — So, xi. 2. Commonly *ad postremum;* as in xiii. 46. *Hist.* i. 39.

Alia in statua .. inditam. — Compare *Suet. Tib.* 58. This was common enough in the time of Pliny :—*Surdo figurarum discrimine capita permutantur* (xxxv. 2).

Ad quod exarsit, &c. — This was an indignity offered to tyrants; and Marcellus, by this act, seemed to charge Augustus with being such. In addition to which, as Augustus was a god, it was an act of impiety.

Efferverat.—Some editors read *efferbuerat.* Both forms of the perfect occur. In Virgil, *fervere* is always a verb of the third conjugation.

Quantoque, &c. — Ernesti conjectured *quandoque.* The alteration is unnecessary. Properly, we should have had a comparative in the second member as well as the first; but Tacitus is very lax in the use of such phrases. Compare, *Quanto quis servitio promptior opibus extollerentur* (c. 2). *Quo plus virium ac roboris, tarditas e fiducia inerat* (*Hist.* ii. 11). *Ut quis districtior accusator, velut sacrosanctus erat* (iv. 36). Compare *c.* 57.

Poenitentia patiens. — *Poenitentia* is here equivalent to a participle, and *patiens* to *patienter.*

Ad reciperatores.—Commissioners for estimating and recovering the damages and making restitution to those who had been injured. The cause was tried in the senate, and not before the praetor, in compliance with the recommendation of Maecenas to Augustus, that all charges against senators, or their wives and children, should be brought before the senate (*Dio*, lii. 31).

There were several *leges repetundarum.* The *lex Calpurnia*, brought forward by the tribune, L. Calp. Piso, in A. U, 604 (*Cic. Verr.* iv. 25. *De Off.* ii. 21); the *lex Acilia*, brought forward by the tribune, M. Acilius Glabrio (*Cic. Verr.* i. 17); the *lex Julia;* the *lex Servilia*, brought forward by the praetor, C. Servilius Glaucia, in A. U. 653 (*Id.* i. 9); and the *lex Cornelia.* But the most severe was the *lex Julia*, passed by Julius Caesar in his first consulate. This law determined what a governor might receive in his province, and from whom he might receive it (*Cic. Ep. ad Att.* iv. 10. 16). It also

directed that, if the property of the accused was not equal to the amount of the damages, the remainder should be demanded from those into whose hands any of the plunder had come (*Cic. Verr.* i. 9. *Pro Rab. Post.* 4. *Digest*, 48. tit. 11).

CHAP. LXXV. — *Veritati.* — That is, *Ut ex vero statuerent* (iv. 43).

Senator. — This is added to denote that he was not of consular or praetorian rank.

Mole publicae viae. — *i. e.* The immense stones which were used for making the public roads; the carrying of which through the city was accustomed, as we learn from Pliny, to shake the houses. *Non, ut ante, immanium transvectione saxorum urbis tecta quatiuntur: stant securae domus, nec jam templa nutantia* (*Plin. Pan.* 51).

Ductuque aquarum.—Many works of this kind were undertaken under the direction of Augustus; as, the *aqua Julia*, the *aqua Virgo*, the *aqua Augusta* (*Frontin. de Aquaed*).

Aerarii praetoribus. — This is a new term; but there is no reason to suspect any error. Augustus transferred the charge of the treasury from the city quaestors to the praetors, or persons of praetorian rank (*Suet. Oct.* 36). Claudius restored the charge to the quaestors. But Nero, a second time, placed it in the hands of officers who had passed through the praetorship, and bore the title of praefects. They appear then to have held office for two years; at least this was the case under Trajan (*Plin. Pan.* 91). See xiii. 28. 29. *Hist.* iv. 9. *Suet. Claud.* 9. 24.

Erogandae. — *Erogare* is a word specially connected with the treasury.

Veniam ordinis. — Permission to retire from the rank of senator.

Temptantis eadem, &c. — See *Suet. Tib.* 47.

CHAP. LXXVI. —*Auctus .. stagnaverat*— Compare *Plin. Ep.* viii. 17. These inundations were always considered ill-omened (*Plin.* iii. 5). To prevent them, Augustus widened the bed of the river. Trajan dug a canal from the Mulvian bridge through the *Valle dell' Inferno*, to draw off its waters. Aurelian secured the banks of the river with strong walls from the city to Ostia. The best plan was that of J. Caesar, which his death prevented him from carrying into effect,—to drain the Pomptine marshes, and cause the Tiber to empty itself into

the sea, by a broad and deep canal dug from the city to Terracina (*Suet. Jul.* 44).

Libri Sibyllini. — See vi. 12.

Renuit. — So, in *Suet. Caes.* 87. *Plin. Ep.* i. 7.

Remedium .. mandatum. — The *curatores alvei Tiberini* (*Suet. Aug.* 37) seem only to have had the charge of cleansing the bed of the river.

Achaiam.—The Romans then applied this term to the whole of Greece.

Achaiam .. deprecantis. — The partition of the provinces between the emperor and the senate was made by Augustus in his sixth consulate. He very wisely took upon himself the management of the frontier provinces. From many causes, the provinces under the direction of the senate were in a much worse condition than those under the direction of the emperor. As the main object of the senators was to share the spoil as equally as possible, the governors sent out by them were changed every year, and were appointed by lot; those sent out by the emperor were selected for their ability, and retained their command for several years,—sometimes having more than one province united under their jurisdiction. Again, if a governor misconducted himself, redress was more easily obtained from the emperor than from the senate, when they were liable to all the uncertainties and corruption of a trial (see *c.* 2); and the legati of the emperor, having greater authority, were better able to repress disorder in their troops or attendants. Tiberius, on several occasions, displayed his concern for the interests of the provinces (iv. 15). See *Suet. Tib.* 32.

Tradique Caesari. — See *c.* 80. Hence Strabo, who lived in the middle of the reign of Tiberius, enumerates (xvii. 840) Achaia and Macedonia amongst the provinces of the emperor, Dio (liii. 12) amongst those of the people. Claudius restored them to the people (*Suet. Claud.* 25. *Dio*, lx. 24).

Vulgo. — The MS. has *vulgus*. It is uncertain whether *vulgo* or *in vulgus*, is the proper alteration. *Formidolosum* is very commonly used in this passive sense. See xi. 19. xiii. 53. *Agr.* 7. 39. Some editors keep the reading *vulgus*, and translate it as if *ut* were introduced before *formidolosum*; but this is very forced. Others take *formidolosum* in the sense of timid, agreeing with *vulgus*. But *dicebatur* will hardly allow us to suppose that *vulgus* is the subject of *arguisse*.

Trahebat. — Compare *c.* 62.

CHAP. LXXVII.—*Proximo* is not without force here: all preceding years would be *priores*.

Quia divus Augustus .. responderat. — *Coërcitionem in histriones magistratibus in omni tempore et loco lege vetere permissam ademit, praeterquam ludis et scena* (*Suet. Aug.* 45). That is, except during the games, and on the stage. Exile and imprisonment were the modes of punishment which he allowed.

De modo lucaris. — *Lucar*, properly, fees paid to those who took part in the religious services celebrated in groves. Here it means the pay of the actors. Theatrical games were considered partly of a religious character. The pay varied at different times: sometimes it was five, sometimes seven, denarii per day. M. Antoninus (*apud Capitol.* 11). *Temperavit scenicas donationes, jubens ut quinos aureos scenici acciperent; ita tamen ut nullus editor decem aureos egrederetur.* He is speaking, probably, of the pay per month.

Ne domos .. cingerent. — *Ostendam nobilissimos juvenes mancipia pantomimorum* (*Seneca Ep.* 47). *Actores .. quibus viri animas, feminae autem etiam corpora sua substernunt* (*Tertull. de Spect.* 100).

CHAP. LXXVIII.—*Templum*, &c.—This was still standing in the age of Hadrian. *Tarracone hiemavit, ubi sumptu suo aedem Augusti restituit* (*Spart. Hadr.* 12).

Rerum Venalium — At auctions, whence *Ducentesima auctionum* (*Suet. Cal.* 16).

Post bella civilia institutam. — By Augustus in A. U. 759, together with the *militare aerarium*, and a tax of five per cent. on inheritances (*Dio*, lv. 25. *Suet. Aug.* 49). When Cappadocia was reduced to the form of a province, the tax was reduced by one-half (ii. 42); but after the death of Sejanus, Tiberius again raised it to its former amount (*Dio*, lviii. 16). From some coins and medals, it appears, that in A. U. 791, Caligula, in place of the tax of one per cent. which Dio (lix. 9) says he abolished, exacted one half of that amount, which, in the following year, was remitted (*Suet. Cal.* 16).

Inparem .. dimitterentur. — The sooner they were disbanded, the oftener would the state have to discharge its debts due to them.

Sedecim stipendiorum finem. — That is, the termination of the service at the end of sixteen years.

Abolita in posterum. — Those who served in Italy, however, were still disbanded at the end of sixteen years (*Dio*, lvii. 6).

CHAP. LXXIX. — *Flumina.* — The Clanis, Arnus, Nar, Tinia, Fabaris, Allia, Cremera, Anio.

Clanis. — Now called *La Chiana.*

Arnus. — Now the *Arno.*

Interamnates. — Now *Terni.* *Nar.* — Now the *Neri.*

Reate. — Now *Rieti,* on the Lacus Velinus, now the *Lago di Rieti.*

Patriis. — Here, "belonging to one's *patria.*" So, *Ovid. Met.* iv. 292. *Virg. Aen.* ix. 672.

CHAP. LXXX. — *Poppaeo Sabino.* — He was consul in A. U. 762. *Modicus originis, principum amicitia consulatum ac triumphale decus adeptus, maximisque provinciis per quattuor et viginta annos impositus, nullam ob eximiam artem, sed quod par negotiis neque supra erat* (vi. 39).

Continuare imperia. — *Suet. Tib.* 41.

Jurisdictionibus. — This refers to these provinces in which no army was kept up, but which were governed by *procuratores.*

Causae variae traduntur.—Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* xviii. 8) attributes it to his desire to spare the provinces. See c. 76. Ἀπορίᾳ τῶν διαδεξομένων αὐτούς (*Dio,* lviii. 23). Suetonius (*Tib.* 41), to indolence and neglect. But this refers rather to the latter years of his life.

Ut mandaverit . . passurus. —Ἔργῳ μὲν μηδενὸς αὐτῶν δεόμενος, λόγῳ δὲ δὴ τιμᾶν αὐτοὺς προσποιούμενος (*Dio,* lviii. 19). See *Suet. Tib.* 63. *Aelius Lamia administrandae Syriae imagine exsolutus* (vi. 27).

CHAP. LXXXI. — *Tum primum.* — In the second year of the reign of Tiberius. *Deinceps.* — During the remaining years of his reign. See *Dio,* lviii. 20.

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STEMMA

OF

THE FAMILY OF AUGUSTUS.

As the relations of the members of the Augustan family are exceedingly intricate, and a knowledge of them is essential for understanding many parts of the First Book of the Annals, a stemma of the family is subjoined, drawn up by Lipsius.

C. Octavius, the father of Augustus, was married twice. By his first wife, Ancharia, he had Octavia the elder; by his second wife, Atia (the daughter of Atius Balbus and Julia, the sister of Julius Caesar), he had Octavia the younger, and C. Octavius, afterwards Augustus. It is doubtful from which of the daughters the following progeny springs.

I. Octavia was married twice, and had —

- *a.* By C. Marcellus,
  - 1. *M. Marcellus*, m. (1) Pompeia dr. of Sextus Pompeius, and (2) Julia, dr. of Augustus—had no progeny. Died in his 17th year, B. C. 23.
  - 2. *Marcella*, the elder, m. twice, and had —
    - *a.* By M. Vipsanius Agrippa, → Children of names unknown (*Suet. Aug.* 63).
    - *b.* By Julus Antonius Africanus, son of the Triumvir. → *L. Antonius Africanus* (*Annal.* iv. 44), father or uncle of → *S. Antonius Africanus?* (*Annal.* xiv. 46.)
  - 3. *Marcella*, the younger.
- *b.* By M. Antonius the Triumvir,
  - 1. *Antonia** the elder. By L Domitius Ahenobarbus.
    - 1. *Domitia*, m. Crispus Passienus?
    - 2. *Domitia Lepida.*†
      - *a.* By M. Valerius Barbatus Messalla. → *Valeria Messalina*, m. Claudius, the emperor. (See below).
      - *b.* By Ap. Junius Silanus? → None?
    - 3. *Cn. Domitius*, by Agrippina. → Nero. m. Octavia and Poppaea.
  - 2. *Antonia* the younger. By Drusus, brother of Tiberius.
    - 1. *Germanicus*, adopted by Tiberius. By Agrippina, dr. of Julia. → See below.
    - 2. *Livia*, or Livilla. m. C. Caesar, and afterwards Drusus son of Tiberius, is bethrothed to Sejanus (*Annal.* iv. 40).
    - 3. Claudius.
      - *a.* By Plautia Urgulanilla. →
        - 1. *Drusus.* Betrothed to dr. of Sejanus (*Annal.* iii. 29. *Suet. Claud.* 27).
        - 2. *Claudia.*
      - *b.* By Aelia Petina. → *Antonia* m. Pompeius M., killed by Claudius, and Faustus Sulla.
      - *c.* By Valeria Messalina. →
        - 1. *Octavia* Bethrothed to L. Silvanus, m. Nero, the emperor.
        - 2. *Claudius Britannicus.*

* Tacitus makes Antonia the *younger* wife of Domitius (*Annal.* iv. 41. xii. 64).

II. Augustus had no children by his other wives; by Scribonia, daughter of L. Scribonius Libo, he had one daughter, *Julia*. *Julia* was married three times.

a. By M. Marcellus, son of C. Marcellus and Octavia,—had no progeny.

b. By M. Vipsanius Agrippa.
- 1. *Caius Caesar*, adopted by Augustus, m. Livia, sister of Germanicus, died A. D. 4.
- 2. *Lucius Caesar*, adopted by Augustus, betrothed to Aemilia Lepida, died A. D. 2.
- 3. *Julia*. By L. Aemilius Paulus, son of the Censor.
  - 1. *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, m. Drusilla dr. of Germanicus.
  - 2. *Aemilia Lepida*.
    - *a*. Betrothed to Claudius.
    - b. By Ap. Junius Silanus.
      - 1. *L. Silanus*. Betrothed to Octavia, dr. of Claudius.
      - 2. *M. Silanus*. Proconsul of Asia.
      - 3. *Junia Calvina*. m. son of Vitellius.
    - *c*. By Drusus, son of Germanicus? — None.
- 4. *Agrippina* By Germanicus.
  - 1. *Nero*, m. Julia, dr. of Drusus, son of Tiberius (*Annal.* vi. 27).
  - 2. *Drusus*, m. Aemilia Lepida (*Annal* vi. 40).
  - 3. Caius Caligula.
  - 4. *Agrippina*, By Cn. Domitius, — Nero.
  - 5. *Drusilla*, m. L. Cassius and M. Aemilius Lepidus.
  - 6. *Livia*, or Livilla, m. M. Vicinius and Quinctilius Varus?
- 5. Agrippa Postumus, adopted by Augustus, put to death by Tiberius, A. D. 14.

c By Tiberius, had none.

III. Augustus, after divorcing his former wife, Scribonia, married Livia Drusilla, by whom he had no children. Livia, however, had been previously married to Tiberius Claudius Nero, by whom she had two sons, Tiberius, afterwards emperor, and Drusus, who was born three months after her marriage with Augustus.

1. Tiberius Nero, adopted by Augustus.
   - *a*. By Vipsania Agrippina, gr. dr. of Atticus. — *Drusus*, By Livia, sister of Germanicus.
     1. *Ti. Gemellus*, killed by Caligula (*Suet. Cal.* 25).
     2. — *Gemellus* (*Annal.* ii. 84. iv. 15).
     3. *Julia*.
        - *a*. By Nero son of Germanicus. — None.
        - *b*. By Rubellius Blandus (*Annal.* vi. 27). — *Rubellius Plautus* (*Annal.* xvi. 10).
   - *b*. By Julia, dr. of Augustus. — None.
2. Drusus.
   - By Antonia the younger. — See above.

INDEX OF PLACES IN TACITUS,

Which are quoted or referred to in Bötticher's Remarks on his Style.

ANNALES.

ANNALES.

ANNALES.

HISTORIAE.

BOOK IV.

BOOK V.

GERMANIA.

AGRICOLA.

DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS.

THE END.

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